

*A Primer of the History of the Holy
Catholic Church in Ireland ...*

Robert King

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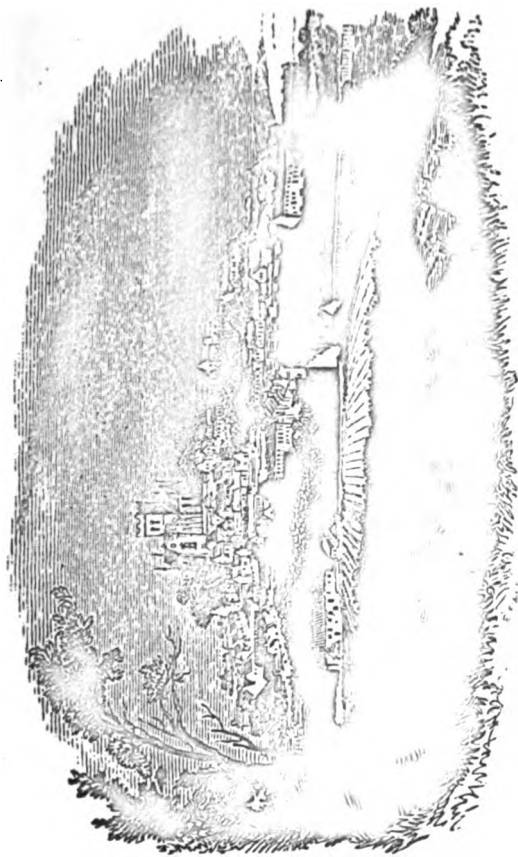


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View of Armagh, Town and Cathedral (from the East).

Robert King

**A PRIMER
OF
THE HISTORY
OF
The Holy Catholic Church
IN
IRELAND,**

**FROM THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY TO THE FORMATION
OF THE MODERN IRISH BRANCH OF THE CHURCH OF ROME.**

THIRD EDITION.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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TO HIS GRACE

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE AND MOST REVEREND LORD

JOHN GEORGE

ARCHBISHOP OF ARMACH,

PRIMATE AND METROPOLITAN OF ALL IRELAND.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

When the first pages of this work were committed to the press, it was little contemplated to introduce them to the public under the sanction of so eminent a name as that of the primate of all Ireland; not but that the writer was sufficiently conscious that for a book on the subject, whose merits might appear worthy of such a distinction, no more appropriate inscription could be made use of or desired. Sub-

sequently however some, whose judgment seemed worthy of consideration, recommended strongly that application should be made to Your Grace for permission to dedicate to you the work of which the first volume was then ready for publication ; feeling assured that however humble the performance, you would readily allow the proposed use of your name in connection with it, in order to encourage the study of the subject, and countenance an unpretending effort to increase the knowledge of it among the less learned of our countrymen.

In setting forth this second volume, the writer gladly takes the opportunity of recording his grateful sense of the kind manner in which Your Grace was pleased to accede to the request made in accordance with this advice, and also of the interest which you have since been pleased to exhibit towards the volume. It is most earnestly hoped that in the present one may be found nothing calculated to forfeit your good opinion, or lessen your favourable disposition already manifested towards the work.

It may be proper also to offer some apology to Your Grace for the delay which has intervened since the appearance of the first volume, as well as for the

circumstance that even yet the whole is not completely brought down to its intended conclusion. The delay in question arose from different causes, such as the difficulty of expediting the proofs through the press, where each was to be forwarded twice for revision, by post, to a place very inconveniently situated with regard to post office arrangements; constant ministerial occupation, and other unavoidable circumstances.

The extension of the work to a larger size than originally contemplated, which has made it necessary to reserve part for another supplementary volume, has been adopted with a hope of increasing its usefulness; space being thus afforded for entering more largely into some very interesting particulars less fully noticed elsewhere, without at the same time too much altering the character and scope of the present work. The value of this arrangement will it is hoped be more fully understood from inspection of the contents of the Appendix which is intended shortly to accompany the two volumes now published.

With sincere acknowledgment of gratitude to Almighty God for Your Grace's continued health

and strength, and heartfelt prayer that you may long be continued in His divine mercy as a blessing to the Church and people of Ireland, and finally be received unto the portion of a faithful pastor of our Lord Christ's flock.

I have the honour to be

Your Grace's very obedient humble servant,

ROBERT KING.

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A. D. Poisson

CHURCH HISTORY OF IRELAND.

BOOK III.

THE DECAY OF TRUE RELIGION IN IRELAND
FOLLOWED BY ECCLESIASTICAL AND
NATIONAL CALAMITIES.

CHAP. I.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE DANISH INVASIONS—ACCOUNT OF THE
HORRIBLE ATROCITIES COMMITTED BY TURGESIUS AND HIS
FOLLOWERS.

OUR Blessed Saviour has warned us against rashly forming an uncharitable judgment of the spiritual estate of others, in consequence of the temporal calamities which befall them.* But He has in the same place also taught us not to regard the visitations which overtake them as the effect of chance; but to look on them rather as the just reward of sin, to which we ourselves are equally liable, if we be not led to repentance. Bearing in mind this consideration when we contemplate the state of the Irish Church at the commencement of the ninth century, we may

A. D. 800.

The scourge
of war a
judgment
on a degene-
rate and
unfaithful
Church.

* S. Luke, xiii. 1-5.

A. D. 909.

be led to suppose that there was a providential connection between the misery which then began to reign in this land, and the corruption of religion that had gone before. We must indeed in any attempt to interpret the divine judgments, endeavour to proceed with the deepest humility and reverence; but still, even entertaining such feelings in the highest degree, we may observe in the present case much that seems strongly to favor the opinion, that the calamities which Ireland suffered in past ages were allowed to fall upon her by the permission of a righteous God, to avenge the deep dishonour which had been done by her people to His Holy Name. The offence committed was one that might well be thought sufficient to call down the just wrath of the Almighty: it was quickly followed by fearful affliction and distress of the guilty Church; and to suppose a connection existing between the two things, and to regard one of them as the consequence of the other, would only be to adopt an opinion agreeing with what had been delivered to the Irish people by their ancient teachers, and preserved among them by tradition in after time;* an opinion too in accordance with the tenor of God's Holy Word, and confirmed in that Word by many examples.†

* Vid. vol. I. p. 56. Joceline Vit. S. Patr. c. 95.

† Judges II. 12, 14, &c. Ps. lxxviii. 62. &c. Ezek. v. 11. &c., &c.

But however this may be, the history of our country, ecclesiastical and civil, in the ninth and tenth centuries, is chiefly remarkable for the troubles and calamities caused by the invasions of the barbarian tribes commonly classed together under the name of Danes, but more properly known, as it would seem, by the names of Nortmans, Normans, or Northmen, and Ostmans, *i.e.* Eastern men. The Nortmans were, as Camden observes,* the Norwegians and Danes; the Ostmans, he says, came from the sea coast of Germany: and he adds, that these invaders, having gained possession of some cities under the pretext of carrying on extensive mercantile business, afterwards harassed the country with most unmanageable wars. Their first entrance into the island, however, appears to have been caused rather by a desire of pillage and military plunder, according to the savage customs of those times, which prevailed also to a large extent among the Irish themselves.

A. D. 800.
Who the
Nortmans
& Ostmans
were.

In the eighth century vast numbers of these barbarous tribes, leaving their own inhospitable deserts, issued forth to invade and plunder the more fertile regions which lay to the south and west of their homes. England, France, and Scotland suffered severely from their fierce incursions; and Ireland also was soon after overrun and

The barbarous atrocities committed by these robbers.

* Camden's *Britannia*, Lond. 1607. pag. 730.

A. D. 800.

infested by their savage bands. The cities and towns throughout the island were plundered and burned by them over and over again in many instances; persons of every age, sex, and condition of life, became the victims of their horrid atrocities, and the Christian clergy in particular were the marked objects of their hatred and malice. In their expeditions in search of plunder all the natives who fell into their hands were put to death without mercy, and hundreds of monks and priests thus perished by their swords.

Ireland an
easy prey to
their fury in
consequence
of its own
state at that
time.

What gave peculiar facilities to the Danes for oppressing and subjugating Ireland, was the want of unity and combination among the natives, which then existed. Ireland, at the time of which we speak, was divided into five petty kingdoms, styled Leinster, Ulster, Munster, Connaught, and Meath. Among the kings of these five provinces it usually was the case that one was acknowledged as supreme monarch; but there was no sufficient subordination among the different kingdoms, and as might naturally be expected, endless disorder and confusion arose from encroachments made by the different princes on one another's rights, and constant war and bloodshed was the consequence. These internal contentions and disputes among themselves rendered the Irish an easy prey to foreign

invaders; and when the Danes began to make their incursions upon our country, instead of uniting steadily to oppose the common foe, the provincial kings were often occupied with unhappy quarrels and dissensions among themselves, and at times even made use of the assistance of their invaders, for the purpose of overpowering one another.

A. D. 800.

The year 795 appears to have been that in which these plunderers first attacked the coasts of Ireland; or they may perhaps have commenced their work of desolation a few years earlier, as some suppose. They began by laying waste the small island of Rechran, Raghery, or Rathlin, off the coast of Antrim, a place where there had been for a long time previously, a church and religious establishment: and from this period, their inroads became continually more frequent and more destructive. In 798 they attacked the coasts of Ulster, and in 802 set fire to the monastery of Iona, destroying in the flames many of "the family" (*i. e.* the monks) of the place. In 806 they depopulated it again with great fury. In 807 they effected a landing in Ireland and penetrated as far as Roscommon, which they then destroyed, laying waste also the surrounding country.

The island of Rathlin first attacked by the Danes, A.D. 795.

Other places ravaged by them soon after.

• Lanigan's Ec. Hist. vol. III. pp. 226, 241.

A. D. 812.

They meet
with a serious
defeat.

The earliest authentic notice of these invasions occurring in foreign authors, appears to be one that we meet with in the ancient French annals,* where we read that in A.D. 812, "the fleet of the Normans, having attacked Ireland, the island of the Scots, after a battle had been fought with the Scots, and no small part of the Normans killed, returned home in disgraceful flight."

Thirty years
of misery
under the
tyranny of
the Danish
usurper
Torgesius.
A.D. 818.

But it was in or about the year 815 that the worst period of suffering from these piratical wars began to afflict our land. For it was at this time, (or as some say, 818,)[†] that the famous Torgesius (son of Harold Harfager, king of Norway) commenced his ravages; and making a descent with a numerous army upon the north of Ireland, he soon spread devastation and death in every quarter, while his fleets were at the same time engaged in destroying and plundering the seaport towns of the South. Under the blighting influence of this usurper, whose tyranny lasted for about thirty years, the Christian religion was discouraged and persecuted, and every means used apparently to efface if possible the remains of it, while its professors were obliged often to seek concealment in woods and caves of the earth. Many churches and abbeys, monasteries, colleges, and

* *Historie Francorum Scriptores*. Lat. Par. 1634. vol. ii. pag. 24.

† *Vid. Lanigan, ut sup.*

seminaries for the education of the Christian priesthood were destroyed; libraries, books, and ancient records were lost in the ruins which these sanguinary ruffians created; and the buildings which had served for the worship of God, were razed to the ground, or perhaps devoted to the service of the heathen deities of the invaders, such as Woden, Thor, and Seater.

A. D. 821.

To give a detailed account of all, or even of the principal, deeds of destruction perpetrated by these foreigners in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, would be for many reasons, out of place in this work. But the following brief description of their doings for some twenty years during the usurpation of Turgesius, will enable the reader to form some conception of the miserable state to which their depredations, continued for ages, must have reduced the country.*

Some particulars of the Danish desolations under Turgesius.

"In 821 they plundered and laid waste, Cork, Lismore, and the monastery of Inisdamle, and in 823 treated in like manner that of Bangor, which it seems they had already plundered some years earlier. The devastation of 823 was probably that, in which it is stated that the abbot

* The account here given is taken from Lanigan: and mostly in his own words. The original authorities, at least the chief ones, are the ancient Irish annals. Vid. Colgan, Ware, Uscher, O'Connor's *Annals of the Four Masters*, &c. &c., O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, &c. &c.

A. D. 821.

Nine hundred monks of Bangor said to have been slain by them in one day.

Turgesius devastates Connaught.
A.D. 836.

and a great number of the monks were killed, and the rich shrine of St. Comgall broken open. Whether it was the same as the one on occasion of which those pirates are said to have murdered nine hundred monks of Bangor in one day, appears not certain. In 824 they pillaged again the monastery of Inisdamle; and burned that of Moville; and in 826 they ravaged and destroyed that of Lusk. In 831 they entered Armagh, and plundered it three times in the course of one month. This was the first time that Armagh was occupied by foreigners. In the same year they despoiled the church of Duleek, the monastery of Monaghan, and the towns, &c., of Connor and Louth. In 834 Glendaloch and Slane were plundered in like manner; and in the following year they ransacked and burned Ferns, the monastery of Clonmore, (in the county of Wexford,) and several churches in Munster. In this year, viz., 835, a great host of them, commanded by Turgesius, destroyed almost all Connaught, together with some parts of Leinster and Meath; and within the three following years, a great part of Ulster, demolishing churches and persecuting the faithful. In 836 a party of Danes marched from Inverdega or Inverdee, (now called Wicklow,) to Kildare, which they ravaged, and set fire to the church, one half of which was consumed. This happened

after Phelim Mac Criffan, king of Munster, had in the same year taken forcible possession of Kildare, and carried off the clergy from it. Thus while the common enemy was in their country, the unhappy Irish were destroying each other. In 837 two large fleets of the Northmen arrived in the Boyne and Liffey, who spreading themselves over the plains, through which these rivers flow, plundered in all directions churches, monasteries, and the habitations of all sorts of people, carrying off flocks, herds, &c. In 839 they burned Cork, Ferns, and Clonfert, killing the religious, and destroyed the church of Slane; and in 840 a party of them, coming from the neighbourhood of Lough Neagh, plundered Louth, and carried off many bishops, wise, learned, and distinguished men, as we are told, some of whom they put to death. In the same year they set fire to Armagh, and burned its cathedral and other sacred edifices. In 842 they plundered the monasteries of Clonmacnois, Birr, Saigir, and the church of Ferns; and in 844 burned Clonmacnois and Lorrain, besides ravaging the monastery of Tirdaglass. One of the churches which Turgesius destroyed and burned when in Connaught, probably in the expedition of 835, was that belonging to the English at Mayo. Many other churches and monasteries, such as Taghmon, Timolin, &c., are mentioned

A. D. 837.

A. D. 844.

as having been pillaged or ruined during this period by these merciless invaders. In short every part of the country suffered more or less from their fury. Every where they carried away sacred utensils, destroyed libraries, and persecuted and killed holy and learned men." And the cities and places that were the most favorite objects of their wicked violence, were those that were most celebrated for the religious establishments maintained in them, as for instance, Armagh, Kildare, Clonmacnoise,* &c.

* Colgan gives a sad catalogue of the damages inflicted upon different places in Ireland by these invaders, a perusal of which will leave us little cause to wonder if their name and memory has been held in execration by the people of our island. The following is a short extract from this catalogue, relating to five of the principal places mentioned in it. (*Vid. Trias Thaum. p. 633.*)

"Armagh—plundered, in A.D. 830, 890, 893, 919, 931, 941: laid waste, in 850, 867: burned, 670, 687, 770, 778, 838, 914, 1074, 1092, 1093, 1112, 1121, 1137, 1166.

"Kells—ravaged, in 899, 918, 967, 968, 1018: burned, 1015, 1036, 1040, 1073, 1093, 1099, 1111, 1135, 1143, 1144, 1150, 1156, 1170.

"Kildare—ravaged, 831, 835, 883, 887, 898, 916, 924, 926, 927, 940, 962, 977, 998, 1022: burned, 708, 770, 1018, (entirely) 1020, 1036, 1040, 1089, 1099, 1143, 1155.

"Clonmacnoise—burned, 719, 750, 773, 811, 843, 967, 985, 1015, 1077, 1082, 1164: plundered, 841, 844, 834, 940, 944, 961, 967, 960, 1044 twice, 1050 three times, 1060, 1068, 1080, 1081, 1092, 1096, 1098, 1111, 1129, 1155.

"Cork—ravaged, 830, 913, 960, 1088, 1137: set fire to, 838, 1012, 1081, 1089, 1116, 1126, 1148."

Some of the damages here enumerated must however be attributed to other causes besides the violence of the Danes, such as the turbulence of the Irish princes, accident, &c. We may observe that in the part of the history quoted in the text from Lanigan, this latter author corrects Colgan's dates by the addition of a year. See his *Ec. Hist. III. 270.*

But the violent career of Turgesius at length began to approach its close, and his power was weakened by serious reverses. One of his principal antagonists was Olchobair Mac Kinede, who was at first abbot and bishop of Emly, and was afterwards honoured with a new dignity in being raised to the throne of Cashel or Munster, on the death of Phelim Mac Criffan, (already mentioned,) which occurred in 846. In the same year Emly had been ravaged by the Danes, and this attack on his own residence was probably one circumstance that aroused against them the spirit of the warlike bishop Olchobair. He defeated them, we are told, in 848 in three different battles, (fought in Waterford or Tipperary,) in which they lost altogether nearly 3,000 men. In the same year however, Turgesius entered Armagh, expelled the primate Forannan and his clergy, and plundered the place. But this year was fatal to Turgesius; for in it he lost his life, having been defeated and made prisoner by Melseachlin, king of Ireland, who drowned him in Loch Vair in Meath. The Irish then attacked the Northmen in all directions, and drove great numbers of them out of their country, so that the nation recovered its liberty once more, after a devastation of about thirty years.*

A. D. 848.

Olchobair,
bishop of
Emly, de-
feats the
Danes.

Turgesius is
drowned by
Melseachlin
king of Ire-
land.

* Lanigan's Ec. Hist. III. 375.

A. D. 848.

Fighting
clergy, a
mischievous
result of the
Danish wars

In the account above given of Olchobair, we may observe one miserable effect of the Danish calamities upon the Irish Church, which was, that in the troubles of those times the clergy were often led to take up arms in self defence, and even to become so familiarised to the use of them as to forget altogether, it would seem, the peaceful character of their own holy calling, and be entirely possessed with the spirit of the warriors of this world. Of this unhappy result of the wars of Ireland, many remarkable instances are to be met with in the history of the country.*

The number
of travelling
Irish in-
creases, to
the preju-
dice of their
welcome
abroad.

Here also may be noted another unfortunate consequence of the same wars upon our countrymen of that period. The Irish were much addicted, as we have seen, to travelling and labouring in foreign countries, and their labours were for the most part highly acceptable to those on whom they were bestowed. But the number of bishops and priests who took shelter abroad from the Danish troubles increased to such a degree, that their officious activity became offensive to some who were dissatisfied with the irregularity of their ministrations in a sphere of

* The fighting clergy were not peculiar to Ireland. England was perhaps even more distinguished in the Danish and early Norman times, for her military ecclesiastics. Some of her prelates in those days were great warriors, and built and fortified an enormous number of castles.—See more of this in Churton's *Early English Church*, chap. xv. pp. 288-9.

labour not properly belonging to them. This sufficiently appears from two ecclesiastical canons passed in synods of the Church, held, one of them in France, the other in England, at the period of which we now speak. A. D. 813.

The first of these canons is that of the Council of Chalons sur Saone, held in A.D. 813, to the following effect*—"There are in certain places, Scots, [*i. e.* Irishmen,] who say that they are bishops; and ordain many careless persons to be Presbyters and Deacons without the license of their superiors. Whose ordination, because it has fallen for the most part into the Simonian heresy, and is subject to many errors, we have with one consent deemed right to be regarded by all men as altogether void." "It seems," says Dr. Lanigan, "that some of those emigrant bishops made use of their spiritual power as a means of livelihood. The practice of raising persons to the episcopacy without being attached to fixed sees had been carried so far in Ireland, that it is not to be wondered at that some of them might have made a trade of their rank."[†]

The other canon above mentioned is one passed by the English Synod of Calchythe, the language of which is as follows,—"Let none of the Scottish

Canon of
Chalons a-
gainst cer-
tain Irish
bishops.

English
canon of
Calchythe
against the
Irish clergy
A.D. 816.

* Concil. Labbe, et Cos. tom. vii. c. 1281. See Papers on the *Amelioration of Ireland*, by the Hon. and Rev. A. F. Perceval, B.O.L., &c. No. III. p. 4.

† Ec. Hist. III. 375.

A. D. 816.
Remark on
these canons

[i. e. Irish] race, be allowed to usurp the holy ministry in any one's diocese, nor let them be allowed to touch anything belonging to holy orders, nor let it be allowed to receive from them in baptism, or in the celebration of masses, nor even that they should give the Eucharist to the people, because we know not whence, or by whom they are ordained.”*

From these canons a learned modern writer derives an argument against the opinion which supposes the Irish Church to have had its origin or orders from Rome; for says he, “If Rome in the ninth century, [or the French and English clergy in communion with Rome,] knew not whence or from whom the Irish had their orders, it is clear beyond dispute, that they did not come from Rome.”† The Romish historian of the Irish Church however, thinks it probable that the canon of Calchythe may have referred to some priests who in their flight from Ireland neglected to bring with them testimonials of their ordination.‡

The Danes
return after
the death of
Turgesius,
A.D. 849.

But to return to the Danes, we find that the defeat of Turgesius and his followers was very far indeed from restoring peace and order to Ireland; for in the very next year 849, the Northmen returned again with a powerful fleet

* SS. Concl. ut sup. col. 1496.

† See Mr. Fencival's pamphlet above quoted.

‡ Lanigan, ut sup.

and renewed the war; in which they were still much assisted by the quarrels of the Irish among themselves. In 851, the city of Dublin, which was already in possession of a description of Northmen called Fingals or *White foreigners*, was attacked by a fresh tribe called Dubh-gals or *Black foreigners*, who made a great havoc of the Fingals, and plundered the city. And on Easter Sunday in the following year 852 they entered Armagh and laid it waste.*

A. D. 848.

In the next year 853, the Norwegian prince Amlave, (whose name is also written Olave or Auliffe,) accompanied by his two brothers, Sitric and Ivar, came to Ireland, and being placed at the head of all the Northmen in the country, exacted contributions from the Irish. Amlave took possession of Dublin, which had however been in the hands of the Northmen apparently since the year 838. It had been previously an obscure place, but was probably much enlarged by Amlave. Ivar in like manner occupied Limerick and enlarged it, and Sitric built Waterford.† The possession of these important maritime places must have added greatly to the strength of the Danish armament in Ireland.

The Danish power in Ireland declines towards the close of the 9th century.

But it is not our purpose to follow out in detail all the proceedings connected with these struggles. Suffice it to say, that the remainder

* Ib. p. 277.

† Ib. p. 226.

A. D. 882.

of this century was occupied with incessant war and confusion, accompanied with much bloodshed on all sides, and slaughter of thousands in various parts of the country. But the general result was that towards the close of the period referred to, the power of the invaders had been much weakened, and was still gradually diminishing.

CHAP. II.

STATE OF LEARNING IN IRELAND IN THE DANISH TIMES—
SEDOLIUS THE COMMENTATOR—DUNGAL—JOHANNES SCOTUS
ERIGENA—AND OTHER DISTINGUISHED IRISHMEN OF THE NINTH
CENTURY.

Condition of
learning and
religion
among the
Irish at this
time.

AND now it is time to inquire what had become of the learning and schools during these disasters, of the learning and schools of ancient Ireland. With the exception of Armagh and Hy, they suffered, it seems, after the time of Turgesius, much less injury than might have been expected from the fury of war, and we find mention still made of various persons who flourished in the different religious establishments, under the several names of bishops, shops, abbots, anchores,† scribes or copyists.

* ib. p. 347. The remains of some of the forts built in Ireland the Danes at this time, are still to be seen through the country among the number of what are called Danish raths. But many of the forts so called are not Danish.

† I. e. Persons of superior sanctity.—*Ibid.* III. 281.

scholastics or lecturers, and "heads of religion."* Of most of these however, little more than their names is recorded. But there were yet some among the Irish of the ninth century, who attained to great eminence, and supported the high reputation of their native land. A few of whom require to be particularly noticed before we proceed further.

A. D. 852.

It is to this age that some refer, perhaps rightly, the celebrated commentator Sedulius. According to Dr. Lanigan, Muredoc, abbot of Kildare, who died in 821, was succeeded by a "Sedulius, who was in all probability, the author of the commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul, which are universally allowed to have been written by an Irishman of that name." Yet Archbishop Ussher supposed Sedulius to be "one of the most ancient writers that remaineth of this country birth," and assigned him to the year 490, thus making him nearly contemporary with St Patrick.†

Account of
Sedulius the
Commentator.

A. D. 821.

But in whatever age Sedulius flourished, his commentaries are referred to and largely quoted by Ussher and others, as affording evidence that the religious tenets of the ancient Irish were simple and pure, and in accordance with the

Extracts
from his
writings
adduced by
Ussher to il-
lustrate the
doctrines of
the ancient
Irish church

* lb. 330. By "heads of religion" in the Irish records, appear to be meant eminent promoters and ornaments of the monastic system.

Lanigan iii. 256, and *Religion of Ancient Irish*, chap. i.

A. D. 321.

His views
concerning
saving
grace.

teaching of Holy Scripture; particularly in those points where superstition and error were afterwards admitted and confounded with Christian truths. The following are a few of the passages quoted by Ussher,* and they will be read with interest, illustrating as they do, the doctrinal sentiments of some of our old divines: for we have no reason to suppose that Sedulius was singular in his opinions. Now as far as regards saving grace, the language of this commentator is as follows—"It is grace only that makes the distinction between the redeemed and the lost; both having been formed into one mass of perdition by a cause derived from their common origin"—(on Rom. ix.) "And they who were delivered must have been delivered in such a way, that by those many who were not delivered, but left in their most just condemnation, it might be shewed what the whole lump had deserved; that the due judgement of God should have condemned even the righteous, unless mercy had come to relieve them from that which was due; that so every mouth of such as would glory of their own merits might be stopped, and he that glorieth might glory in the Lord." (ib.) Again says Sedulius, "What hast thou of thyself except sin? (1. Cor. iv.) By grace are ye saved through faith, that is not by works. (Eph.

* Ib. chap. II., &c.

ii.) Grace is abject and vain if it alone do not suffice me. (Gal. ii.) You entertain but a poor opinion of Christ, if you think that he is not sufficient for you to salvation. (Gal. iii.) I live by the faith of the Son of God, that is by faith alone, as owing nothing to the law. (Gal. ii.) The patriarchs and prophets were justified, not by the works of the law, but by faith." (ib.) Again Sedulius, it seems, had no knowledge of purgatory, for he speaks of the end of this life as a thing "to which either death or life succeeds," (Rom. vii.), and he also calls death, "the gate through which we enter into our kingdom." (1 Cor. iii.) Nor did he think it allowable to offer adoration to saints or angels, for (at Rom. i.) he says that "to adore any other besides the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost is the crime of impiety." And as for images, he reproves in the same strain the wise men of the heathen for supposing that they had found out a way "how the invisible God may be worshipped by a visible image." Miracles, too, he conceived not to exist, believing that "the faith having increased, miracles were to cease; forasmuch as they are declared to have been given for their sakes that believe not." (1. Cor. xiv.) Such were the doctrines which Sedulius set forth, and it must be acknowledged that they are a good deal unlike what is popularly held and incul-

A. D. 521.

Purgatory,

Adoration
of Saints.

Images,

and Mira-
cles.

A. D. 821. cated by many at the present day as if in accordance with the old religion of Ireland.

Claudius the Commentator.

Another eminent commentator who flourished in the early part of the ninth century was the famous Claudius, whom Archbishop Ussher and others have set down as an Irishman, not without apparent reason. Dr. Lanigan however will not allow that he belonged to this country. His commentaries very closely resemble those of Sedulius. Ussher speaks of him as a "famous divine, counted one of the founders of the University of Paris."*

Account of Dungal. A. D. 810.

A very distinguished Irishman of the period now under consideration, was the celebrated Dungal, who has been described as "one of the most learned men of his times, an excellent theologian, poet, and scholar."† His theology was however not much in accordance with the doctrines of the Reformation, and he certainly cannot be alleged as a supporter of the views in favor of which reference has been made to the commentaries of Sedulius and Claudius. This will be sufficiently understood from the following brief account of the individual in question.

His high reputation on the Continent as a teacher.

Dungal, it appears, had come to settle in France in or before the year 811, in which he addressed to the emperor Charlemagne his epistle on the two solar eclipses of the preceding

* Ussher ut sup. and Lan. iii. 202.

† Ib. p. 264.

year.* He afterwards became eminent as a teacher, and having removed to Italy, settled there, and kept a school at Pavia, under the patronage of the emperor Lotharius the First. From this prince he also received a charter (issued probably in 823) in support of his establishment, in which it is appointed, "that students from Milan, Brescia, Lodi, Bergamo, Novara, Vercelli, Tortona, Acqui, Genoa, Asti, and Como, are to assemble in Pavia to put themselves under the care of Dungal."† Whether he were in holy orders, or how long he continued his labors, or when or where he died, we are not told.

A. D. 823.

But we learn something of his theological sentiments from the controversy carried on between him and Claude, or Claudius, bishop of Turin. This prelate had made himself remarkable by destroying or removing, shortly after his appointment, all the images and crosses which he found in the churches of his diocese. And when found fault with by some for these proceedings, he published a treatise in defence of his conduct, in which he strongly censured any veneration of images or of the cross, and condemned also the invocation of saints, and the celebration of their festivals. Dungal, being greatly opposed to the

His controversy with Claude of Turin.
A.D. 827.

* Ib. † Vid. Muratori, *Annus Italicoarum Scriptores*, T. I. Par. II. p. 182, quoted in Lanigan.

A. D. 827.
 He writes in
 defence of
 the invocation
 of
 Saints, &c.

Depending
 much on
 tradition.

views of Claudius, wrote another work against his, defending the practices which were attacked by Claudius. In this work, (which is supposed to have been published in 827,) Dungal maintains that, although no divine honors ought to be paid to angels, saints, or their images, yet images ought not to be broken or defaced. As to the invocation of saints, he argues that "if the apostles and martyrs while in this world could pray for others, how much more so can they do it after their crowns, victories, and triumphs;" and he quotes in illustration of the same subject various passages from the fathers, "according to his usual method, which is" (as Dr. Lanigan observes*) "instead of much reasoning, to allege the tradition and constant practice of the Church." He also accuses Claudius of being an enemy of the incarnation and passion of our Lord, in consequence of his objections to the use of crosses. How, says he, can a bishop, who abhors the cross of Jesus Christ, [as if Claudius did so] perform the ecclesiastical offices, baptise, bless the holy chrism, impose hands, give certain benedictions, or say mass? And he further blames Claudius for not allowing the commemoration of saints in

* Ec. Hist. III. 260. The accounts of Dungal, Hellas, Donatus, &c., in this place, are furnished by Latin writers who flourished on the continent, and derived in part from the records of those places where these Irishmen lived, Fiesole, Angoulême, &c. See the references in Lanigan. This observation may be useful for some readers who are inclined to mistrust all Irish records.

the Church services, nor the celebration of their festivals, his prohibiting the lighting of tapers by day in the churches, &c., &c. From all this, (though it be but a very brief account) the reader will be enabled to form a sufficient idea of Dungal's religious notions. To expose his errors, or answer the oft-refuted arguments alleged in defence of them, would be out of place here.

Dungal had, we are informed, a very valuable and large collection of books, as is inferred from the catalogue of those which he bequeathed to the monastery of Bobio.* It is supposed that he spent in that place the latter days of his life.

Another eminent Irishman of those who lived abroad in the ninth century was Donatus or Donogh, bishop of Fiesole in Tuscany, who governed that see for many years; certainly from 844 to 861, and, it would appear, for a much longer time. He employed himself partly in the tuition of pupils, to whom he gave gratuitous instruction. His epitaph, in Latin verse, written by himself, is still preserved. The last words of it, addressed to the reader, are these: "And pray God, who dwells in the height of heaven, to grant me a share in his blessed kingdom;" from which we see that such prayers for the

A. D. 837.

Donatus's
library.

Donatus,
bishop of
Fiesole, an
Irishman.
A. D. 844.

His epitaph.

* They are now, (1829) at least in great part, in the Ambrosian Library of Milan, whither they were removed by Cardinal F. Borromeo. Lanigan, iii. 263.

A. D. 861.

dead were at this time allowed by some at least of the Irish.*

Helias,
bishop of
Angouleme,
an Irishman.
A. D. 862.

Helias, bishop of Angouleme in France, during the same period, was also an Irishman; and one who (like so many of his countrymen) devoted part of his time to the instruction of youth, and gained considerable reputation in this employment. His death is assigned to A.D. 875 or 876.†

His pupil,
Eric, notices
the great
crowds of
Irish who
visited
France at
that time.

One of his pupils was the famous writer Eric of Auxerre, who composed the Acts of St. Germanus, addressed to the Emperor Charles the Bald. In the preface to this work, Eric makes mention of the vast number of learned Irishmen who visited France in those days. "What occasion have I," says he, "to speak of Ireland, setting at nought as it does the difficulties of the sea, and coming almost in one body to our shores, with its crowd of philosophers; the most intelligent of whom are subjecting themselves to a voluntary exile, that they may become the servants of our highly gifted Solomon." Such is the flattering title by which he designates his master.

Account of
Johannes
Scotus
Erigena.
A. D. 847

Of the many names on record of individuals among these emigrant Irish, who attained to distinction in the continental Churches during this age, our limits will allow us to notice only one other in this place; that one however, the

* *Ib.* 260, seqq.† *Ib.* 267.

most eminent of all, although but a layman, namely, the famous Johannes Scotus Erigena. This illustrious individual is allowed generally to have been gifted with extraordinary genius; and was, for the times he lived in, a good classical and philosophical scholar: he was also a very good man, and of irreproachable life; and one that took much interest in religious matters, and entered with great warmth into the theological controversies of his day. But his notions on many points appear to have been very fanciful, obscure, and not easy to comprehend; and he stands charged with serious errors on some points of no small importance.*

Johannes Scotus was born early in the ninth century, and had come to settle in France before the year 847. By his learning, wit, and other attractive qualities, he became a distinguished favorite of King Charles the Bald, who loved his society much, and used to have him for a guest at his own table. It was by the desire of this monarch that (Johannes or) John penned some of his writings which afterwards attracted so much attention.

The first important controversy in which we find Johannes Scotus taking an active part was that on the subject of predestination, which ex-

A. D. 847.

He becomes
a favourite
with Charles
the Bald.

His share in
the predesti-
narian con-
troversy.
A. D. 851.

* lb. 282, seqq. and Mosheim's Ecc. Hist. Cont. 2. par. 2. chap. I. sec. 7; also chap. iv.

A. D. 861.

cited such fierce contention in the Latin Church of the ninth century. John's reputation at this time was such, that although a layman, he was applied to by Hinemar, archbishop of Rheims, and Pardulus, bishop of Laon, two of the promoters of this controversy, with a request that he would write a work on the subject of predestination. He complied with their wish, and dedicated his composition to them; but it has been condemned as containing many serious errors. It was published some short time before 852.*

His translation of the works of Dionysius the Areopagite. Between 856, and 867.

Some time after, at the request of Charles the Bald, John, who was well acquainted with the Greek language, undertook to translate from it into Latin the works attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite, which were then held in very high esteem. He executed the translation in such a manner that it was admired for its accuracy, but at the same time blamed for being too literal, and thus rendering still more obscure a style of writing sufficiently obscure in the original.†

Anastasius's encomium on his character and works. A. D. 875.

Speaking of this work of Johannes Scotus, an eminent writer of the same age introduces the following strong commendation of his learning and piety:‡ "It is wonderful," says Anastasius the Librarian, (in a letter to Charles the

* *Lan.* iii. 232. † *Ib.* 238, 239.

‡ *Vid.* Cave, *Hist. Litt.* tom. i. an. 864. and *R. Hoved.* ad an. 863: also *Umber's Sylloge E. H.* No. 34.

Bald, written A. D. 875,) "how that barbarous person, dwelling at the very end of the earth, remote from intercourse with men, and equally remote, as one might have supposed, from acquaintance with a foreign tongue, was able to comprehend such treatises, and to translate them into a different language. I allude to John the Scotian, who was, as I have been informed, a man of holiness in all his ways. But it is that artist the Spirit, that hath wrought this work, and made him thus brilliant and eloquent. For had he not through His grace been endued with the fire of charity, he would undoubtedly never have received the gift of speaking thus with tongues." In the same letter Anastasius commends also the humility of the person whom he honors with such praise.

A. D. 878.

The year 831 is a notable and memorable one in the history of Christianity, as being that in which the doctrine of Transubstantiation was first clearly laid down and published in the Church.* This was done by a monk named Paschasius Radbert, (who was afterwards abbot of Corbey in Westphalia,) in a treatise concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ; in which he set forth, *First*, that after the consecration of the bread and wine in the Lord's Supper, nothing remained of those symbols but the outward

Transubstantiation promulgated in 831.

Explanation of the doctrine.

* See Mosheim's Ch. Hist. of the 9th cent.

A. D. 861.

Johannes
Scotus
writes
against it.
cir. 861.

His canon-
ization.

figure, under which the body and blood of Christ were really and locally present; and *Secondly*, that the body of Christ thus present in the eucharist, was the same body which was born of the Blessed Virgin, that suffered upon the cross, and was raised from the dead. This new doctrine excited, as well it might, the astonishment of many, and it was accordingly opposed on various grounds by some of the most able and eminent men of that day. Two of the most distinguished maintainers of the old view of the subject, in opposition to the novel speculations of Paschasius Radbert, were Bertram or Ratramne, and our Johannes Scotus. These learned men were desired by Charles the Bald to draw up a clear and rational exposition of that important doctrine which Radbert had so grossly corrupted. The book which Bertram wrote is still preserved, and various English translations of it have been published from time to time; but the treatise composed by Johannes Scotus has unfortunately been lost. It is said however to have been distinguished by marks of a philosophical genius, and for the logical precision with which he treated the question. His doctrine on the subject treated of is said to have agreed entirely with that of Bertram, and to have been, accordingly, pure and orthodox.

Johannes Scotus appears to have enjoyed for

a long time a place among the saints of the Roman calendar; until Transubstantiation in later ages became the doctrine of the school-men, and then his opinions being found to be against it, his name was expunged from the Roman martyrology.* The dispute concerning the manner of the Lord's presence in the sacrament was allowed to proceed until the eleventh century, unrestrained by any voice of authority in the Church, the contending parties on both sides advancing their discordant opinions with all possible freedom, and no council interfering to give any definite sentence upon this matter, or prescribe a rule of faith to terminate all inquiry and discussion. But about the year 1050, the controversy raging with much vehemence on all sides, afforded matter of discussion to several councils which were called to settle the question if possible. The celebrated Berenger, who occupies so prominent a place in the ecclesiastical history of the eleventh century, distinguished himself by maintaining publicly, in A.D. 1045, the doctrines of Johannes Scotus, and opposing with vehemence the monstrous opinions of Paschasius Radbert. But Berenger met with a violent antagonist in Pope Leo IX., who fiercely attacked

A. D. 861.

His book is
burned by
order of the
Pope.
A. D. 1050.

* Lanigan (*Ec. Hist.* iii. 317) works hard to prove that John never had a place in the Calendar, but his arguments are more ingenious than satisfactory. *Vld. Cave, Hist. Litt. at sup.*

A. D. 861.

his doctrines in A.D. 1050, and in two councils held, one at Rome, the other at Vercelli, had the doctrine of Berenger solemnly condemned, and the book of J. Scotus, from which it was drawn, committed to the flames. This however was no more a proof that the book so treated contained any thing unsound, than the frequent burning of Bibles in later days by them that follow Leo's doctrines, is a proof that the sacred volume itself contains any thing mischievous or untrue.

Other works
of this
author.

Besides the writings of this eminent individual already mentioned, there are others also attributed to him, (such as one on the Latin and Greek verbs,) which we need not here enumerate particularly.* He must be allowed to have been one of the greatest men to whom our country ever gave birth; and his literary and philosophical accomplishments, as well as his great natural abilities, are spoken of in terms of the highest commendation by those who have mentioned his character and genius. The learned Mosheim in his Church History dwells on this subject at much length; want of space however forbids our introducing here his warm encomiums on our illustrious countryman.

Island
visited by
Irish mis-
sionaries.
730—874.

It is said that in the latter end of the ninth century there were living in Iceland some Irish

• Lanigan III. 316.

Christians, who exerted themselves in endeavouring to propagate the Christian religion among the Pagans of that island. And there is interesting evidence to prove that the missionary zeal which animated the members of the Irish Church, had led some of them to settle and labour in that remote country at least a hundred years before, that is, in the latter part of the eighth century.*

A. D. 874.

CHAP. III.

CONTINUANCE OF THE DANISH WARS IN THE TENTH CENTURY.—
STATE OF AFFAIRS IN IRELAND TO THE BATTLE OF CLONTARF.—
LIFE OF BRIAN BORU.

THE power of the Danes in Ireland had been diminishing, as we have seen, at least in some little degree, towards the close of the ninth century; and at the beginning of the tenth, in the year 902,† the entire body of them was, according to our old Irish annals, driven out of the country. This was during the time of Flan Sionna, king of all Ireland, whose reign lasted for thirty-seven years, from A.D. 879 to A.D. 916.

A. D. 902.
The Danish power receives a check in Ireland,

but not a final one, although matters were a good deal mended at this time.

It seems difficult however to conceive that all the Danes were expelled from Ireland at this time, and it would appear more probable that

* Ib. 242, 220, and 225, seqq. † Ib. 247, 242, 266.

A. D. 902.

some still remained, especially in the Danish cities on the coast. The greater part of their armies may however have been driven out of the country; but in any case their absence was not of long duration, for we find them after a few years returning almost as fiercely as ever, to their work of bloodshed and desolation.* Still there was, during Flan's reign, so much of comparative tranquillity as afforded opportunity to repair in some degree the miseries and ruin caused by Turgesius and his followers. The uncultivated lands began to be tilled again; Christianity dared to show its face once more; the abbeys and other ecclesiastical buildings rose gradually out of their ruins, and the seminaries of learning began to flourish with new vigor. Not yet however, had the Irish learned from the miseries inflicted on them by foreign invaders, to know the necessity for union among themselves; and after all the fatal effects of former dissensions, new ones appeared in Flan's reign, to embroil the unhappy people of this country in wars with one another.

Account of
Cormac Mac
Cuilleinan
first bishop
of Cashel
and king of
Munster,
born
A.D. 837.

This we find lamentably illustrated in the life of the celebrated Cormac Mac Cuilleinan, who was king of Munster, and also bishop of Cashel, both dignities being in him united. This royal bishop, who was certainly the most eminent

* Lanigan III. 265.

Irishman of his age, was born in the year 837; A.D. 837. and was educated, it seems, for holy orders, as is concluded from the circumstance of his having been possessed of great learning, for the attainment of which he must have enjoyed the quiet of a college life in his earlier days. Cashel, before his time, was not an episcopal see, but was included in that of Emly; and it is possible that he was made bishop there on account of his extraordinary merit, according to a practice, common with the old Irish, of raising distinguished persons to the episcopal rank in places where previously there had been no bishops. It would appear also to have been in consequence of the respect paid to his memory, that Cashel afterwards became, in the course of time, a regular and permanent see. Possessed of this dignity, it soon obtained for itself as the capital of Munster, that ecclesiastical superiority which had formerly belonged to the see of Emly.*

Cormac, already a bishop, was called to the throne in A.D. 901, but did not obtain peaceable possession of it for two years later. His reign was disturbed by an unfortunate civil war between him and the king of Leinster, who was aided by the monarch Flan. And their unhappy quarrels (the particulars of which it would be useless and uninteresting to introduce here,) His reign disturbed by fatal civil war.

* Ib. pp. 249, 250.

A. D. 908.
His death. terminated at length in the death of Cormac. He was killed in a desperate battle which took place between him and his opponents at Ballymoon, in the county Carlow, in A.D. 908. Among those who accompanied Cormac on this expedition were several ecclesiastics, some of whom fell in the battle. Indeed the chief fomentor of the mischief was the violent and furious Flaherty, abbot of Inniscatthy.

His writings. Cormac's reputation for learning and piety was very great; and he was the author of different works of no small celebrity among his countrymen. It was he who wrote or compiled the famous collection of Irish historical records, called the *Psalter of Cashel*; also a remarkable *Glossary* of ancient Irish words, which is still extant. To him also has been commonly attributed the erection of the beautiful small church on the Rock of Cashel, called Cormac's Chapel. **Cormac's Chapel.** He was likewise a benefactor to other churches in different parts of the country, and left bequests to several of them in his will.*

Fresh depredations of the Northmen.
A.D. 914, &c. The Northmen or Danes who had been almost wholly reduced, or banished from Ireland, at the beginning of Cormac's reign, returned in a few years after his death with fresh vigour; and commencing their attacks in 914 and 915 upon Waterford, Cork, Lismore, and Aghaboe, they

* Lanigan III. 356.

spread misery and desolation through various parts of the isle in their usual way. Their progress was marked as before with massacres, plunder, and burning, destruction of religious establishments, and murdering of abbots and other ecclesiastics. Many of the names of those slain by them at this period are still on record.*

A. D. 940.

We are however told that in A.D. 948 the Danes of Dublin were brought to the profession of the Christian religion; being the first of their nation in Ireland who had, at least in any large body, acknowledged the truth of the Gospel. But if we are to judge of the Christianity of these Dublin Danes by their subsequent conduct, we must confess that it was of a very indifferent character, and little worthy of the name. For in 950 (only two years after the time assigned for their conversion) they plundered and burned Slane, so that many persons assembled in the belfry of that place perished in the flames.

Conversion of the Dublin Danes to Christianity referred to A.D. 948.

Their outrages however still continue.

Numberless other like violent outrages were perpetrated by the savage invaders in different parts of the country during the remainder of this century. Nor was it by the Danes only that religious establishments were plundered, but some also by the Irish themselves while devastating the places where they were situated.† But the particulars of these devastations cannot

While some of the Irish also perpetrate the like.

* *ib.* 366, seqq.

† *ib.* 360.

A. D. 948.

be inserted here, as they are excluded by our narrow limits, and belong more properly to the civil history of Ireland.

Strange abuses admitted in the mode of appointment to the see of Armagh at this time.

A. D. 926.

During the disorders of these times, a strange irregularity was introduced into the succession of prelates in the see of Armagh, which instead of being filled as heretofore, by lawful bishops, appointed in the ordinary way, was seized upon by one powerful family, who kept hereditary possession of it for about 200 years, reckoning from the death of Primate Mælbriuid, which occurred in A.D. 926, to the appointment of the famous St. Malachy, A.D. 1129.* In the life of this latter prelate we shall have occasion to mention more fully the usurpation here noticed. Suffice it in this place to say that during the period in question "the accounts of the succession to the see of Armagh are greatly confused, and very obscure," insomuch that, as Dr. Lanigan observes, it becomes very difficult, and one may say "impossible, to arrange the succession in a correct manner."†

The Irish still maintain their character in other countries.

Amid all the calamities of this age, (which has been designated among ecclesiastical writers as the *obscure* or dark one,‡ from the corruption of morals, relaxation of discipline, and prevailing ignorance which distinguished it,) the Irish still

* Lanigan III. 362. S. Bern. Vit. Mal. cap. x. † Ib. 363.

‡ Ib. 364. Ware, *Writers of Ireland*. Cent. X.

maintained in foreign countries their high character for superior learning and energy in religious works. In England also, where after the death of King Alfred, learning had greatly declined, some of our countrymen enjoyed a very high reputation as teachers; and we are informed by an ancient English writer that "several of them, persons of illustrious character, and nobly acquainted with divine and secular learning, having left Ireland, and come to settle in England, chose Glastonbury for their dwelling place;"* and he adds, that in order to support themselves there, they gave instruction to the children of the nobility; and that the most distinguished of their pupils was the famous St. Dunstan, who was afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. The settlement of these distinguished Irishmen at Glastonbury took place at some date before 940.

A. D. 940.

Instance at Glastonbury. Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, one of their pupils.

We have also on record the names of several Irishmen who were eminent on the continent of Europe in this age, as abbots, bishops, &c.; and likewise accounts of monastic institutions erected especially for them. Among the places where they flourished we may notice by way of instances,

They flourished on the continent also.

* Osborn, *Life of St. Dunstan*, ap. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, vol. ii. p. 91, quoted in Lanigan iii. 396. Osborn was a monk and precentor of the Church of Canterbury, and an intimate friend of Archbishop Lanfranc. He flourished, A.D. 1070. Vid. Cave, *Hist. Litt.* Tom. ii. p. 149.

A. D. 949.

Instance in
the case of
Fingen at
Metz.
A.D. 992.

Vassor (in Belgium) Cologne, and Metz.* To an establishment of theirs in the latter city, Otho III., while king of Germany, granted a confirmation of its rights and possessions, with an express condition that its "first abbot named Fingen, an Irishman by nation, . . . and his successors, were to have Irish monks, so long as this should be possible;" and it was only "in case that monks from Ireland were not to be had," that permission was given, by the charter of Otho, to admit others.† The deed containing this clause was signed in A.D. 992.

Brian
Boru's life
and wars.
A.D. 976.

In the period at which we are now arrived, flourished one of the most famous characters of ancient Irish history, who was also the most formidable antagonist ever encountered by the Danes in this country. The person here spoken of was the celebrated Brian Boroimhe, or Boru, king of Munster, and afterwards of all Ireland, who ascended the throne in A.D. 976, having previously distinguished himself in several successful battles against the northern invaders. He was unhappily engaged for many years in civil wars with Málseachlin or Malachy II., who became king of all Ireland in A.D. 980. Sometimes however Brian and Malachy united against the Danes or other enemies: but war and animosity

* *Leisgan* III. 401, 406.

† Archives of the Church of Metz, quoted by Colgan, *A.A.* 88. Feb. 2.

sity more commonly prevailed between them. Malachy himself was a vigorous enemy of the Danes, and resisted them with much energy. In the very year of his accession to the throne, he defeated those of Dublin with dreadful slaughter, at the famous battle of Tara; a disaster which affected Auliffe their king to such a degree, that he retired to Hy, where he died in the course of the same year.*

A. D. 940.

The Dublin Danes beaten by Malachy at the battle of Tara.

A. D. 960.

After various alternations of war and peace between the two kings, (the particulars of which cannot be noticed here,) Brian at length determined on crushing his enemy completely, and for this purpose marched against him to Tara, in the year 1000, with a very large army collected from all parts of the south of Ireland, assisted also by Dublin Danes, who were found particularly serviceable on the occasion. With this army, in the next year, Brian forced Malachy not only to submit and give hostages, but likewise to resign to himself the throne of all Ireland, retaining only his principality of Meath. Thus Brian became supreme monarch in A. D. 1001.*

Brian Bora becomes king of all Ireland.

A. D. 1001.

Passing over, as of little importance to our present subject, the history of subsequent struggles between Brian, Malachy, and the Danes,

Circumstances preceeding the battle of Clontarf.

A. D. 1012.

* *Annals of Innisfallen*, ad A. D. 960 and Ware, *Antiq. corp.* 24, quoted in *Len. ill.* 416.

† *ib.* 417.

A.D. 1391.

from this period to A.D. 1013, we shall find matters at length brought in the latter year to a very critical position. Maelmurry Mac Morough, the usurper king of Leinster, at the head of a large army of Leinster men and Danes of Dublin, was carrying on war with King Malachy; and the latter, finding their power to be far greater than he could resist, applied to Brian Boru, with whom he was then at peace, for aid against their assaults. Brian accordingly set out with a great army to oppose Mac Morogh and the Danes who were confederate with him. He remained however near Dublin from the beginning of August until Christmas without being able to bring them to battle, and consequently returned to Munster.

Preparations for the battle,

Meanwhile the Northmen, determined on raising a powerful opposition, used every exertion to collect troops for the coming struggle from every quarter. Large reinforcements poured in from Norway and the neighbouring countries, from Scotland, the Orkneys, the Isle of Man, and other islands off the British coast. The intention of the invaders at this time, as we are informed by an old writer,* was to exterminate all the Irish from the country, and take posses-

* See the Chronicle of Ademar, monk of Angouleme, (written, it is supposed, before 1031,) *ap. Labbe, Nouv. Bibl. MSS. lib. Tom. 2. p. 177, quoted in Lanigan iii. 422.*

sion of it for themselves. The valiant Brian, although now in his eighty-eighth year, hesitated not to take the field once more against his old enemies, in defence of his country and his crown; and accordingly entering Leinster with a very large army he joined his forces with those of King Malachy. The contending armies met in the plains of Clontarf, within two miles of the city of Dublin, and there on Good Friday, April 23, 1014, a sanguinary, furious, and long continued battle was fought between them. Brian, compelled by the Northmen to come to an engagement, when he would rather have avoided it through reverence for the day, was resolved notwithstanding, even on that day to make a valiant struggle: and holding the crucifix in his left hand, and his sword in the right, he rode through the ranks encouraging his men to put an end for ever to the oppression of those tyrant usurpers, who had for so many years filled the country with sacrilege and blood. When the engagement commenced, the treacherous Malachy, mindful of his old quarrels with Brian, retired from the field with his Meath men, and remained a mere looker on. The engagement lasted from eight in the morning until four in the evening, when the Danes, no longer able to sustain the impetuosity of the Irish troops, fled and fell in every direction. Multitudes of the Irish princes

A.D. 1014.

which takes
place on
Good Fri-
day.
A.D. 1014.

Treachery
of King
Malachy on
this occasion

The Danes
defeated.

A. D. 1014.

Yet their
outrages
continue.The su-
preme mo-
narchy
restored to
Malachy,
falls into
obeyance
after his
death.
A.D. 1032.Character
of Brian
Boru ;

and nobles fell on that day, and among them Brian Boru himself, his son Morogh, and his grandson Turlogh. Maelmurry, king of Leinster, was also among the slain. But the Danes were totally defeated and overthrown, and their power in Ireland received a decisive blow, from which they never were able to recover. We must not however suppose that the Danish troubles of Ireland ended with this battle; on the contrary we read of Armagh, Swords, Clonard, and other places being plundered by them in the very next year; and the same kind of depredations were continued by them more or less during the remainder of this century.*

After the battle of Clontarf, Malachy regained once more the title of king of all Ireland, which had originally belonged to him; but after his death in 1022, there was no king recognised as of *all* Ireland for many years.†

The character of Brian Boru has been greatly eulogised and extolled by the Irish annalists. He is represented as having been one of the greatest benefactors of his country that can be found in the lists of her ancient kings, and not more heroic in war than distinguished for promoting and extending the blessings of peace. His memory is thus honored as that of one whose reign was spent in the service of his country,

* Annals of Innisfallen, and Lan. ut sup. &c. † Lan. III. 435, 436.

and marked with incessant and successful endeavours for the improvement and welfare of his people. Under his fostering care, and the influence of the religious disposition for which he is commended, learning and piety, we are told, flourished throughout his dominions: the clergy were reinstated in their ecclesiastical rights; churches, schools, and other religious establishments were erected or re-built; roads and bridges were constructed through the country, and the public highways put into repair: the lands too which had been usurped by the Danes were by him restored to their original proprietors, the pagan foreigners being expelled from them: the laws of his kingdom were revised, and administered with a spirit of impartial justice and equity that created universal satisfaction: in short, civilization and improvement were promoted by all possible means. His merit however as a patriotic prince, appears to be somewhat obscured by his having disturbed the long established regal succession of his native isle, and by his having employed the assistance of his country's most inveterate foes, to enable him to usurp the hereditary rights belonging to another family.*

A. D. 1014.

and his patriotic exertions for the improvement of his dominions.

His merit however is not altogether without a cloud.

* Vid. *Len. III.*, 422, 414, 417.

BOOK IV.

THE IRISH CHURCH MADE SUBJECT TO THE POPE—THE NATION TO ENGLAND.

CHAP. I.

DANISH INFLUENCE IN THE CHURCH OF IRELAND, AND HOW IT
HELPED TO INTRODUCE ROMANISM.—STATE OF LEARNING IN
IRELAND AT THIS TIME. A.D. 1014—1100.

A.D. 1014.

The Irish
Church and
nation free
and inde-
pendent of
foreign
power to
this time.

Thus far we have been considering the circumstances of our native Church in the days of her freedom and independence, when Irishmen enjoyed the reputation of being Catholics and saints, yea and models of piety, without acknowledging any obedience as due from them to the bishop or Church of Rome; or without even regarding communion with the pope as any very important privilege, or one at all necessary to be enjoyed for the maintenance of healthful Christian life. During the same period the Irish nation also was equally independent of any foreign jurisdiction. But the annals of the times upon which we now enter bring at once

before our view the first successful efforts of the Roman see to extend its authority to our native land. And the measures adopted for the furtherance of that object, led also at the same time, as we shall see presently, to the permanent subjugation of this island to the kings of England.

A. D. 1014.

The first circumstance which afforded to the Roman Church an opportunity for obtaining a footing in England, was, as we have already seen, the conquest of that country by the Pagan Saxons.* Somewhat similar was the occasion of the first establishment of the power of the Church of Rome in Ireland; for the introduction of that system into our country appears, when traced to its source, to have been closely connected with the influence of the Danes or Ostmans who had settled here somewhat before its arrival. It was through England that Ireland first became connected with the Roman Church, and subject to the authority of the pope: and the first connection of the kind which existed between any Irish Christians and the English Church, was formed between the Ostman bishops of Ireland and the archbishops of Canterbury. Even after the battle of Clontarf the Ostman race and Ostman influence prevailed in some places in Ireland, and parti-

The first introduction of Romish power into Ireland may be traced to the Danes:

assisted by the English.

* Sup. p. 122, seqq.

A. D. 1014.

The inhabitants of the Danish cities, Dublin, Limerick, and Waterford, place their bishops under the archbishop of Canterbury.

cularly in Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick, which were still regarded as being Danish cities. Now their inhabitants being, as Archbishop Ussher has it,* "a colony of the Norwegians and Livonians, and so countrymen to the Normans, when they had seen England subdued by the Conqueror, and Normans advanced to the chief archbishopric there, would needs now assume to themselves the name of Normans also, and cause their bishops to receive their consecration from no other metropolitan but the archbishop of Canterbury. And forasmuch as they were confined within the walls of their own cities, the bishops which they made had no other diocese to exercise their jurisdiction in, but only the bare circuit of those cities; whereupon we find a certificate made unto Pope Innocent III., in the year 1216, by the archbishop of Tuam and his suffragans, that John Papiron, the legate of the Church of Rome coming into Ireland, found that Dublin indeed had a bishop, but such an one as did exercise his episcopal office within the walls only."

Dunan
first bishop
of the Dub-
lin Danes.

"The first bishop which they had in Dublin, as it appeareth by the records of that Church, was one Donatus, (or Dunanus, as others call him,)" and his appointment is also the first clear indication that exists of any active interest being

* Religion of Ancient Irish, chap. viii.

taken in Christianity by the Irish Danes. The foundation of the church of the Holy Trinity, commonly called Christ Church, in Dublin, took place about the same time, *i. e.* in or near A.D. 1040, and in one of its ancient records, both circumstances are noticed together. The document in question states that "Sitric, king of Dublin, gave to the Holy Trinity, and to Donatus, first bishop of Dublin, a place, where the arches or vaults were founded, to build the church of the Holy Trinity on, together with the following lands:—*Bealdulek, Rechen, Portrahern*, with their villans, cattle, and corn. He also contributed gold and silver enough wherewith to build the church and the whole court thereof."*

A. D. 1040.
Foundation
of Christ
Church Ca-
thedral,
A.D. 1040.

Upon the death of Donatus in A.D. 1074, the king Gothric, with the consent of the clergy and people of Dublin, chose one Patrick for their bishop, and directed him to be consecrated by Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury;† who accordingly performed the ceremony in St. Paul's Church, London, after that Patrick had made to him the following profession of canonical obedience:—"Whoever presides over others, ought not to scorn to be subject to others,

Patrick
second
bishop of
Dublin, is
sent to be
consecrated
at Canter-
bury.
A.D. 1074.

His pro-
fession of
obedience to
Lanfranc.

* *Black book of the Church of the Holy Trinity*, quoted in Lanigan iii. 434. The places mentioned in this document were, as Dr. Lanigan supposes, those now called Baldoyle, Ratheny, and Portrane, all lying at the north side of Dublin, where the Danes possessed lands.

† Religion of the Ancient Irish, at sup. and Lanigan iii. 446.

A. D. 1074.

but rather make it his study, humbly to render in God's name, to his superiors, the obedience which he expects from those who are placed under him. On this account I Patrick, elected prelate to govern Dublin, the metropolis of Ireland, do offer to thee reverend father Lanfranc, primate of Britain, and archbishop of the holy Church of Canterbury, this charter of my profession; and I promise to obey thee and thy successors in all things appertaining to the Christian religion.”*

Lanfranc's
letters to the
king, Tur-
logh and
Gothric.

Lanfranc having consecrated Patrick, sent him back to his diocese, with two letters, one for the above-named Gothric, king of the Ostmans of Dublin, and the other for Terdelvacus, (or Turlogh, as he is usually called,) the chief king or monarch of the Irish. To both princes he addressed serious admonitions relative to the state of religion among their people, and the necessity for endeavouring to improve it, by the correction of abuses, of the existence of which he had already received information.

Account of
Turlogh,
king of
Munster.
A. D. 1064.

King Turlogh here mentioned was a grandson of the famous Brian Boroimhe by his son Teige or Thady. He was proclaimed king of Munster in 1064, and afterwards extended his power by force of arms over other parts of Ireland. In

* *Uscher's Sylloge*, towards the end. Ware, *Bishops of Dublin*, at Patrick. Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i. p. 80. Lanigan, iii. 461.

1073, Gothric, king of Dublin, became his vassal, and in succeeding years the northern and western provinces were brought to acknowledge his supremacy, so that by 1082 he might justly be styled king of all Ireland, as indeed he has been.

A. D. 1074.

and of all
Ireland.

A. D. 1082.

His character has been highly commended, as that of one who was not only an able, but also

His good
qualities

a good and religiously disposed prince: and that he was deserving of such commendation would appear even from the contents of the letter which Lanfranc wrote to him on the occasion above mentioned. "Our brother and fellow-bishop Patrick," says Lanfranc to him, "has spoken so much and so warmly of the pious humility of your highness towards the good, your strict severity against the bad, and your truly discreet equity towards every class of persons, that, although we have never seen you, yet we love you as if we had, and wish to consult your interest, and to render you our most sincere service as if we had seen you, and been intimately acquainted with you."^{*}

alluded to in
Lanfranc's
letter to
him.

Lanfranc then goes on to say, that while there were many things in Turlogh's kingdom that gave him pleasure, he was informed also of some things that did not, viz.:—that men were in the

Lanfranc's
censure of
certain Irish
practices:

* The letters of Lanfranc are, in the original form, in *Ussher's Epistolæ Hibernicæ Syllæge*, Nos. 26 and 27. Works, vol. iv. Also in *Lanfranc's Works*, and, in English, in *Harrie's Ware*.

A. D. 1074.

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* Usher's *Synode*, towards the end. Ware, *Bishops of Dublin*, at Patrick. Wharton's *Anglicæ Sacre*, vol. i. p. 90. Lanigan, iii. 461.

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 and in succeeding years the northern and western ^{and of all}
 provinces were brought to acknowledge his su- ^{Ireland.}
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 mility of your highness towards the good, your ^{letter to}
 strict severity against the bad, and your truly ^{him.}
 discreet equity towards every class of persons,
 that, although we have never seen you, yet we
 love you as if we had, and wish to consult your
 interest, and to render you our most sincere ser-
 vice as if we had seen you, and been intimately
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 things that did not, viz.:—that men were in the ^{practices:}

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A. D. 1074.

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* Usher's *Synode*, towards the end. Ware, *Bishops of Dublin*, at Patrick. Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i. p. 94. Lanigan, iii. 461.

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 and in succeeding years the northern and western
 provinces were brought to acknowledge his su-
 premacy, so that by 1082 he might justly be
 styled king of all Ireland, as indeed he has been.
<sup>and of all
 Ireland.
 A.D. 1082.</sup>

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 mility of your highness towards the good, your
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 that, although we have never seen you, yet we
 love you as if we had, and wish to consult your
 interest, and to render you our most sincere ser-
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A. D. 1074.

and sugges-
tion for in-
troducing a
reform.

Character of
the charges
brought
against the
Irish by
Lanfranc;

habit of deserting their lawful wives without any just canonical cause, and taking to themselves others, although nearly related to themselves or their deserted wives, or even women that had been so deserted by their own husbands:—that bishops were consecrated by a single bishop;—that infants were baptized without consecrated chrism; and that holy orders were given by bishops for money. For the purpose of introducing reform in these particulars and discountenancing evil in general, he urges Turlogh in the most solemn manner to assemble a council of the bishops and religious men of his realm, at which he himself also and his nobles should attend for the purpose of promoting the object in view.

As to the things censured by Lanfranc, we may observe here, 1. that the irregularities connected with marriage which he alludes to were probably part of the corrupt and profligate habits introduced among some classes of the people by the demoralizing effects of the Danish wars. 2. The consecration as well as the appointment of persons to the episcopal office, was very probably conducted with too little attention to propriety and order: and that the Irish Church, as well as other Churches at that period, was disgraced by the sin of simony, cannot be denied. 3. "With regard to baptizing without chrism, Lanfranc,"

as Dr. Lanigan remarks,* "was greatly mistaken in supposing, that either the apostles and evangelists, or all the fathers and canons, had prescribed the use of chrism in baptism. In itself it is not at all a rite essential to the validity of this sacrament." 4. He must however have been well acquainted with the real state of things in Ireland as far as regarded the practices of which he spoke, since he had every opportunity of receiving authentic information on the subject from the individual who came over to be consecrated by him; and had learned from that person, as he expressly mentions, the state of affairs under Turlogh's government.

A. D. 1074.
and how he
might ac-
quire a
knowledge
of their
habits.

In his letter to King Gothric also, the English primate exhorts him likewise to use his exertions for the purpose of reforming the abuses connected with marriage already spoken of. Nor were the princes to whom he wrote at this time the only persons in Ireland with whom Lanfranc was on terms of correspondence, for we find him a few years after addressing a letter to an Irish prelate named Domnald, (bishop, as is supposed, of Cashel,) in reply to one received from him.† Domnald, aware of Lanfranc's high reputation for wisdom and learning, had written to inquire of him whether it were true that in England and elsewhere an opinion was held,

Lanfranc's
letter to
Gothric.

His letter to
Bishop
Domnald.
A. D. 1081.

* Ec. Hist. III. 478. † Vid. Usher's *Sylloge*, No. 26.

A. D. 1081.

that it was necessary for the salvation of infants that they should receive the holy communion, a question to which Lanfranc satisfactorily replied in the negative. Domnald had made inquiry at the same time concerning some literary subjects, but on these Lanfranc observes that he had given up such studies from the time at which he had become charged with pastoral duties.

Donat,
third bishop
of Dublin,
consecrated
at Canter-
bury,
A.D. 1088.

On the death of Patrick, bishop of Dublin, in the year 1085, King Turlogh and the bishops of Ireland, joined with the clergy and people of Dublin in the election of Donatus, or Donagh, one of Lanfranc's own monks in Canterbury,* who was however, it seems, an Irishman. He was accordingly consecrated at Canterbury by Lanfranc, to whom he made his profession of obedience in these words:—"I Donatus, prelate of the Church of Dublin, which is situated in Ireland, promise canonical obedience to thee Lanfranc, archbishop of the holy Church of Canterbury, and to thy successors."

Letter of
Pope Gre-
gory VII.
to King
Turlogh:

About this time the state of the Irish Church began to attract the more immediate attention of the bishops of Rome themselves, who it appears began to feel now more seriously than heretofore, how desirable and necessary it was for the accomplishment of their objects, that

* Religion of the Ancient Irish, at *opp.* Lanigan, iii. 482.

that Church should be reduced into obedience to their own authority. And there is yet in existence a letter written for the promotion of this design, by the aspiring Hildebrand or Gregory VII., who at that time filled the papal chair.*

In this letter, which was addressed to the King Terdelvac, (or Turlogh,) and to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, nobles, and to all Christians inhabiting Ireland, Gregory plainly informs them, that he claims by divine right dominion over all the kingdoms of the world, and consequently over that of Ireland among the rest.

"To this ambitious pontiff" we may therefore, says the learned Dr. O'Connor,† "refer the *origin* of that *claim* to the sovereignty of Ireland, which was conferred on the English kings by Pope Adrian and his successors; which was admitted by the English kings down to the reign of Henry VIII.; which was quoted as the source of English power by the Irish parliament; which was often employed to raise the [R.] Catholic rabble against the [R.] Catholic gentry, and which was as often the bane of the Irish nation."

A perusal of Gregory's letter will however make it sufficiently evident that he wrote to a people hitherto quite unconscious of his authority, or claim to authority over them; and also to a

A. D. 1084?

in which for the first time a Roman bishop claims temporal authority in Ireland.

The Irish before this time not accustomed to look much to Rome for guidance.

* Vid: Appendix, No. viii. Usher's Sylloge, No. 28.

† Columbanus ad Hibernos, No. 2. Historical Address, p. 73.

A. D. 1084.

people who had been little accustomed to look for direction or guidance from him or his predecessors. This is indicated even by the closing words of his letter, where he tells them that, if any matters were to occur among them that might seem to need his help, they should be careful to apply to him without delay, and that they might be sure of obtaining satisfaction. We may observe that Gregory wrote several other letters to various kings, princes, &c., with a similar object in view, hoping to bring all the kingdoms of Europe under his own temporal power. The one addressed to Turlogh is dated by Archbishop Ussher A.D. 1085: but it was probably written in the preceding year or earlier.*

Turlogh
succeeded
by Murtoth.
A.D. 1086.

How Turlogh or his people received this letter we are not informed. The monarch however did not live long after its arrival, for he died in the year 1086, having reigned twenty-two years, and was succeeded by his son Murtoth O'Brien, (also called Muriardach, or Murchardach,) not as king of all Ireland, but only of Munster. Yet he afterwards enlarged his territories by successful war, so as to be able in 1095 to assume the title of king of Ireland, though in truth his claim to this title was allowed only in

* Lanigan, III. 484.

the southern half of Ireland, including Dublin. A.D. 1094.
His reign continued to A.D. 1116.*

On the death of Donatus, or Donagh, bishop of Dublin, in 1095, his nephew Samuel, a monk of St. Albans, but born in Ireland, was chosen bishop in his place by the aforesaid Muriardach and the clergy and people of the city; by whose common decree he was sent to Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, and successor to Lanfranc, for his consecration.† Anselm kept Samuel with him for some time, treated him very kindly, "and diligently instructed him," as an old writer‡ informs us, "how he should conduct himself in the house of God:" after which he consecrated him to the episcopal office at Winchester, on the Sunday after Easter, assisted by four English bishops: Samuel having previously made his promise of canonical obedience to Anselm and his successors nearly in the same form of words that had been used by his uncle Donagh when receiving consecration from Lanfranc.

Some time after, Anselm wrote Samuel a letter, in which he reprov'd him for various improprieties in his conduct, such as, that he had disposed of different articles of Church property as if they had been his own; that he had ill-treated the monks connected with Christ Church; and that he had caused the cross to be carried

Samuel,
fourth bi-
shop of
Dublin,
consecrated
at Canter-
bury.
A.D. 1095.

Anselm's
kindness
and instruc-
tions to him.

His letter to
this bishop
afterwards.
A.D. 1096,
or later.

* A. 694. † A. vol. iv. p. 12. *Usden, ut sup.* ‡ *Radwan. Hist. Irel.*

A. D. 1098.

before him on the way ; " which, if it be really the case," says Anselm, " I command you not to do so again ; for this privilege does not belong except to an archbishop, who has been confirmed with the pall by the Roman pontiff." This letter seems to indicate that Samuel thought more of his own advancement than of the welfare of the Church ; and it also illustrates the nature of the authority exercised over him and the other Danish bishops in Ireland by the English primates.*

Malchus,
first bishop
of Water-
ford, sent to
Canterbury
for his con-
secration.
A.D. 1096,

with a
recommen-
datory letter
from the
clergy and
people to
Anselm.

About the time of Samuel's appointment, the people of Waterford, following the example of those of Dublin, erected a bishopric among themselves, and sent their new bishop to Canterbury for his consecration : the manner of whose election is intimated in the letter which the clergy and citizens of Waterford addressed on that occasion to Anselm, wherein they speak thus— " We and our King Murchertach, [or Murtogh,] and the Bishop Dofnald, and our Duke Dermeth, brother to the king, have made choice of this priest Malchus, a monk of Walkeline, bishop of Winchester : " and they accordingly request Anselm to ordain him bishop for them.† The letter bears the signatures of King Murtogh, the Duke Dermot, Bishop Domnald, the bishops of Meath, Dublin, &c. It appears from it that Waterford,

* Vid. Lanigan, iv. 13.

† Ussher, ut sup.

the southern half of Ireland, including Dublin. A. D. 1064.
His reign continued to A.D. 1116.*

On the death of Donatus, or Donagh, bishop of Dublin, in 1095, his nephew Samuel, a monk of St. Albans, but born in Ireland, was chosen bishop in his place by the aforesaid Muriardach and the clergy and people of the city ; by whose common decree he was sent to Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, and successor to Lanfranc, for his consecration.† Anselm kept Samuel with him for some time, treated him very kindly, "and diligently instructed him," as an old writer‡ informs us, "how he should conduct himself in the house of God:" after which he consecrated him to the episcopal office at Winchester, on the Sunday after Easter, assisted by four English bishops: Samuel having previously made his promise of canonical obedience to Anselm and his successors nearly in the same form of words that had been used by his uncle Donagh when receiving consecration from Lanfranc.

Samuel, fourth bishop of Dublin, consecrated at Canterbury, A.D. 1095.

Anselm's kindness and instructions to him.

His letter to this bishop afterwards, A.D. 1094, or later.

Some time after, Anselm wrote Samuel a letter, in which he reprov'd him for various improprieties in his conduct, such as, that he had disposed of different articles of Church property as if they had been his own; that he had ill-treated the monks connected with Christ Church; and that he had caused the cross to be carried

* 46. 484. † 46. vol. iv. p. 12. *Ussher*, ut sup. ‡ *Eadmer. Hist. Nov.*

A. D. 1096.

before him on the way ; " which, if it be really the case," says Anselm, " I command you not to do so again ; for this privilege does not belong except to an archbishop, who has been confirmed with the pall by the Roman pontiff." This letter seems to indicate that Samuel thought more of his own advancement than of the welfare of the Church ; and it also illustrates the nature of the authority exercised over him and the other Danish bishops in Ireland by the English primates.*

Malchus,
first bishop
of Water-
ford, sent to
Canterbury
for his con-
secration.
A.D. 1096.

with a
recommen-
datory letter
from the
clergy and
people to
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* Vid. Lanigan, iv. 12.

† Usheer, ut sup.

ough a Danish city, was subject to Murtogh. A. D. 1098.
 Anselm accordingly consecrated Malchus bishop, at Canterbury, on the 28th of December, 1096; the bishops of Chichester and Rochester assisting at the ceremony; and the new prelate having made a profession of "canonical obedience in all things" to Anselm and his successors nearly in the same form as that used by the bishops of Dublin.*

Anselm, like his predecessor Lanfranc, wrote on different occasions to the authorities in Ireland, exhorting them to be diligent in maintaining the doctrine and discipline of the Church, and to use their endeavours for promoting order and propriety. One of the letters so referred to, was addressed by him in 1095 to the bishops Domnald, Donat, [of Dublin,] and all the other bishops in Ireland; to whom Anselm in this letter signifies, that he had very great difficulties to contend with, and that he required much the kind assistance of their advisers†. He also advises them, that if certain difficult cases connected with ecclesiastical affairs should occur, which could not be canonically determined among themselves, they should inform him of them; it being better for them to receive counsel and comfort from him, than run the risk of violating any of the commandments

Anselm's
letter to
the Irish
bishops.
A.D. 1098.

He recommends them
to apply to
him for
counsel in
difficult ecclesiastical
cases.

* Lanigan, iv. 18. † Vid. Usher, Syl. No. 33.

A. D. 1096.

of God. But the bishops of Ireland, however they may have respected Anselm, did not, as we shall see presently, relish the interference of an English authority in their ecclesiastical matters at this time; and so were not likely to trouble the prelates of Canterbury with many applications for their advice.

He writes also to King Murtoth; and finds fault with certain irregularities. A. D. 1097?

Some time after the date of the letter last mentioned, (although in what year is not well known,) Anselm wrote another letter* (or according to some, two letters) on the state of religion in Ireland, to the King Murtoth. After praising him for his excellent administration of his kingdom, Anselm urges him to turn his attention to the reformation of abuses which were reported in England as prevailing among the Irish. He mentions in particular, irregular marriages, and the appointing of men to be bishops without fixed sees, as well as their being consecrated by only a single bishop, instead of having at least three to assist in the ordinance, according to the regular and usual canonical custom.

Gregory, last bishop of Dublin, was sent to Canterbury to be consecrated. A. D. 1121.

The last bishop of Dublin in the year 1121, was sent over to Anselm's next successor for his consecration; on which occasion King Henry I. addressed to the archbishop of Canterbury a

* *Vid. Uscher, Sylloge, Nos. 25, 26; and Lanigan, iv. 21.*

t expressed in the following words: *—
 Henry, king of England, to Ralph, archbishop
 Canterbury, greeting: The king of Ireland
 signified to me by his writ, and the bur-
 gesses of Dublin, that they have chosen this
 Gregory for their bishop, and send him unto you
 to be consecrated. Wherefore I wish you, in
 compliance with their request, to perform his
 consecration without delay. Witness, Ranulph,
 chancellor at Windsor." Gregory, the new pre-
 late elect, was as yet but a layman, and so by order
 of Ralph, he was first ordained deacon and priest
 and then the bishop of Salisbury; and after eight days
 was consecrated bishop by Ralph himself, assisted
 by five English bishops, after having made the
 usual profession of canonical obedience.

On the same occasion all the burgesses of
 Dublin, and the whole assembly of the clergy
 directed, by Gregory, their joint letters to the
 archbishop of Canterbury, wherein among other
 things, they write thus: †—"Know you for verity
 that the bishops of Ireland have great indigna-
 tion toward us, and that bishop most of all that
 dwelleth at Armagh, because we will not obey
 their ordination, but will always be under your
 government. Therefore we suppliantly request
 that you will promote Gregory to the holy order
 of the episcopate, if you be willing to retain any

A. D. 1121.

Letter of
 the citizens
 and clergy
 of Dublin to
 the English
 primate on
 this occa-
 sion:

In which is
 noticed the
 jealousy of
 the Irish
 bishops at
 their irre-
 gular pro-
 ceedings.

Welsh, *Religion of the Ancient Irish*, chap. viii. Lan. iv. 47. † 46.

A. D. 1136.

Usher's
remarks on
the matter.Patrick,
bishop of
Limerick,
consecrated
at Canter-
bury,
A.D. 1140.

longer the superintendence of this diocese which we have preserved to you this long time past." "Whereby we may see that as the Ostmans were desirous to sever themselves from the Irish, and to be esteemed Normans rather, so the Irish bishops on the other side, howsoever they digested in some sort the recourse which they had to Lanfranc and Anselm, who were two of the most famous men in their times, and with whom they themselves were desirous to hold all good correspondence, yet could they not well brook this continuation of their dependence upon a metropolitan of an other kingdom, which they conceived to be somewhat derogatory to the dignity of their own primate. But this jealousy continued not long; for this same Gregory being afterwards made archbishop of Dublin, and the bishoprics here settled by Johannes Paparo, as well they of Dublin, as the others of Waterford and Limerick, (for they also had one Patrick consecrated bishop unto them by Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury,) did ever after that time cease to have any relation unto the see of Canterbury." Patrick, who was consecrated in 1140, was not the first bishop of Limerick, as an episcopal see had been erected there and presided over by his pre-

decessor the famous Gille, or Gillebert, many years before this time.* A. D. 1131.

The indirect communication between the Church of Rome and that of Ireland did not however cease until a more direct one had been established, by means of papal legates who now began to exercise their functions in our country, that had been heretofore free from their officious interference. And the very first of these who is said to have acted as pope's legate throughout all Ireland, was the above Gillebert,† bishop of Limerick, one of the three cities already mentioned as keeping up an intimate correspondence and connection (even during the independence of the Irish Church) with the Church of England, or what was then pretty nearly the same, with the Church of Rome, in whose communion the English Church was at that time included.

The intercourse between the Irish Church and Rome, continued afterwards by papal legates.

In the latter part of the eleventh century, (the period to which this chapter particularly refers,) learning was still cultivated, and even in some degree flourished, in Ireland: and we have on record the names of various individuals who became eminent as writers, lecturers, &c., in those times: two of whom it may suffice briefly to notice here, namely:—Tigernach, and Marianus Scotus. The former, who was abbot of Clonmacnoise, is very highly commended,

Learning still cultivated among the Irish.

Concerning Tigernach, i. e. Tiernach the Annalist. A. D. 1088.

* Lanigan, iii. 24.

† Vid. chap. ii. inf.

A. D. 1086.

and it seems with reason, for his extensive knowledge and his ability as a teacher. He brought down the annals of Ireland to the very year of his own death, which occurred at Clonmacnoise in A.D. 1088.*

**Account of
Marianus
Scotus, born
A.D. 1028.**

**His super-
stitious
piety.**

**His
Chronicle.**

Marianus Scotus was born in 1028, and was educated, it is supposed, in the monastery of Clonard, after which he removed to the continent in 1056, and at first lived with the Irish monks of Cologne, and subsequently at Fulda and Mentz. He died in A.D. 1086. His reputation for piety was very great, we are told; but he was however by no means free from the superstitious influence of the times in which he lived. For we read that on occasion of a fire which broke out in Paderborn in 1058, and consumed the whole place, a recluse of that city named Paternus, who appears to have been an Irishman, "could not by any means be induced to quit his cell, but remained there for the purpose of obtaining, as he supposed, the crown of martyrdom!" And Marianus, "looking on him as a real martyr, set out from Cologne not many days after; and having visited his tomb on account of the good things that were said of it, prayed on the very mat on which Paternus had been burned" to death. Marianus has however been considered as one of the first men of his times for learning: and

* Lanigan, III. 487-489.

his valuable "Chronicle" which he continued down to A.D. 1083, exceeds any thing of the kind which the middle ages have produced. He wrote also notes on all the Epistles of St. Paul, which are still extant, and said to be of some merit.*

A. D. 1070.

An interesting evidence of the literary reputation which Ireland still continued at this time to enjoy, occurs in the life of Sulgen, who was bishop of St. David's about the year 1070. In a poem written by his son John, we read that Sulgen came to Ireland to study there, and spent ten or thirteen years in this country in the study of the Scriptures.

The literary character of the Irish of the eleventh century illustrated from the life of Sulgen, bishop of St. David's. A.D. 1070.

With ardent love for learning, Sulgen sought
The school in which his fathers had been taught;
To Ireland's sacred isle he bent his way,
Where science beam'd with bright and glorious ray.
But lo! an unforeseen impediment
His journey interrupted as he went;
For, sailing toward the country where abode
The people famous in the Word of God,
His bark by adverse winds and tempests tear'd,
Was forced to anchor on another coast;
And thus the Albanian shore the traveller gain'd,
And there for five successive years remained.

At length arriving on the Scottish soil,
He soon applies himself to studious toil:
The Holy Scriptures now his thoughts engage,
And much he ponders o'er the oft-read page,
Exploring carefully the secret mine

* B. 446, and vol. iv. 7, 8.

A. D. 1070.

Of precious treasure in the Law divine :
Till thirteen years of diligence and pains
Had made him affluent in heavenly gains,
And stored his ample mind with rich supplies
Of costly goods and sacred merchandise.
Then having gained a literary name,
In high repute for learning home he came ;
His gathered store and golden gains to share
Among admiring friends and followers there.*

Inferences
drawn by
Archbishop
Ussher from
the fore-
going lines.

In these lines, besides the circumstance of Sulgen's coming to study in Ireland, there are two other things (as Archbishop Ussher has remarked) worthy to be noticed by us; *First*, that although in the ninth century of Christianity, the Norwegian pirates, with Turgesius for their leader, keeping possession of this island for thirty years, destroyed by fire almost all the churches and books, yet notwithstanding this, the study of Christian literature again revived, and Ireland so late as in the eleventh century was still (as an ancient author styles it) "a workshop of men famous for learning and sanctity;" *Secondly*, that so late as down to this period, our Irish people still retained the name of Scots, as belonging to them peculiarly. For John says

Ireland still
named
Scotia.

* Vid. Ussher's *Sylloge. Pref.* Although the original narrative in Ussher, (and as quoted thence by Dr. Lanigan,) distinctly mentions that John was son to Sulgen, yet the Maynooth Church historian carefully suppresses this relationship, and mentions John merely as a member of Sulgen's family: it being considered perhaps safer to hide, not from the vulgar merely, but even from students of Church History, a circumstance that might be looked on as unfavorable to the notion of the necessity of clerical celibacy. See Carew's *Ch. Hist.* p. 372.

in his poem, that his father had designed going A. D. 1170.
to *Ireland* for the purpose of study, but that the vessel, in which he had embarked with the intention of sailing thither, having been driven from her course by adverse winds, he had been thus brought to *Albania*, (*i.e.* Scotland; see page 142,) and that after delaying there for five years, he at length arrived at the *Scottish* soil, (*i.e.* Ireland,) where he spent many years in the study of the sacred Scriptures.

CHAP. II.

FURTHER EXERTIONS FOR INTRODUCING INTO IRELAND THE
AUTHORITY AND CUSTOMS OF THE CHURCH OF ROME.—PRO-
CEEDINGS OF GILLEBERT BISHOP OF LIMERICK, AND CELSUS
ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH.

GILLE or Gillebert, first bishop of the Danish city of Limerick, and first pope's legate for Ireland,* was one of the most strenuous and effective agents in the work of promoting the growing intimacy between our ancient Irish clergy, and those of the Church of Rome. Considering indeed the early period at which he commenced his labours, the zeal and activity with which he pursued them, and the success that attended his efforts, he may almost be regarded as the father and author of the plan for

Gillebert
bishop of
Limerick
chief agent
for introdu-
cing the
pope's power
into Ireland.
A.D. 1106.

* Bern. Vit. Mal. cap. x. Ed. Bern.

A. D. 1106.

His correspondence with Anselm archbishop of Canterbury.

Anselm in reply urges Gillebert to labour for the introduction of Roman usages.

bringing Ireland into spiritual subjection to the authority of the Roman bishop. His lessons on the subject, if not the first, were certainly some of the most striking that had been yet delivered to the people of this land in favour of the doctrine of the supremacy of the pope.

Gillebert, in early life, had travelled on the continent, and had been intimately acquainted with Anselm, at Rouen in France, several years before his promotion. Afterwards however their acquaintance was interrupted for a time, during which they appear to have lost sight of one another, until it was renewed by Gillebert in a letter which, after he had been made bishop of Limerick, he addressed to Anselm, in 1106 or subsequently. In this letter he congratulates the English primate on the successful termination of some difficult struggles about ecclesiastical authority in which he had been engaged; requests his acceptance of a small present of twenty-five pearls, which accompanied his letter, and begs to be remembered in his prayers. Anselm in reply to this communication, sent back to Gillebert a very gracious answer, in which, after thanking him for his kind congratulations and present, &c., he makes bold "to advise him to exert himself with earnestness towards correcting and extirpating, as far as he is able, whatever may be wrong in that country, [*i.e.* Ireland,] and

to induce, as well as he can, his king, the other bishops, and whomsoever he may persuade, to co-operate with him in that work, and in planting and promoting good practices and morals. Anselm seems here to allude to some reformation of certain Irish ecclesiastical practices, and to the introduction of those then followed at Rome." Such is Dr. Lanigan's view, and apparently a just one, of this matter.*

Gillebert accordingly applied himself to the work before him with much diligence, and "signa-
A. D. 1106.
 lized his zeal by endeavouring to bring all the practices, liturgical, and connected with the Church service, of which there was a great variety in Ireland, to one uniform system, conformable to that of the particular Church of Rome." For promoting this end, and also in order to bring about such an alteration in the discipline of the Irish Church as would make it agree more nearly with the system generally established elsewhere, and in particular, to inculcate the doctrine of the pope's supremacy, Gillebert composed a work on the Church Service, in which there was also introduced, after the "prologue" or preface, a short preliminary treatise on the government of the Church. This treatise, and the prologue, are still in existence, but what

Gillebert's efforts to accomplish this end.

His book on the Services and Government of the Church;

* *Ec. Hist.* iv. 24, 25. *Vid. Usher's Sylloge*, No. 30. *Works by Eirington*, vol. iv. p. 500.

A. D. 1106,
and subse-
quently.

in which he
labours to
promote the
introduction
of the Ro-
man Office
in place of
the old Irish
Services.

became of the book itself, relating to the order of divine service, it is impossible to say. It was addressed "To the bishops and clergy of all Ireland," and was written, as the prologue informs us, "at the request and injunction of many of them." The author endeavoured in it, (as he tells us in the same place,) "to set down in writing the canonical method of saying the hours, and performing the office of the entire Church service," his object being, "that those different and schismatical orders, [or service books,] by which almost all Ireland is deluded, may give place to one Catholic and Roman office. For what," he adds, "can be more unbecoming or schismatical, than that the most learned individual of one order, should be like an ignorant person or layman in a Church where a different one is followed." In support of his views he quotes the words of St. Paul, in Rom. xv. 6; and goes on arguing as if the unity of the Church were violated by every difference in ritual observances.*

Account of
his tract *On
the State of
the Church.*

In his treatise "On the State of the Church," or rather on its government, Gillebert gives an account of the various orders or classes of persons, lay and clerical, in the Church. He describes particularly the relation between the different ranks and degrees of ecclesiastics, and

* Lanigan and Usher, ut sup.

their mutual subordination, explaining carefully the offices and ranks of bishops, archbishops, primates, metropolitans, patriarchs, &c., as well as of the inferior orders of the Romish Church, sub-deacons, acolythes, exorcists, &c., not omitting of course the orders of priest and deacon. In short the treatise in question has been described as "a summary of the general canon law of those times, mixed with some observations on ecclesiastical dresses and church utensils and ornaments." Speaking of the priest's duty to pray, Gillebert says that it is chiefly fulfilled in celebrating the "Hours and Mass," of which he adds that he was going to treat in the sequel, *i.e.* in the work on the "Church Services" above alluded to.

A. D. 1162.

It is worth while to observe particularly the account given by Gillebert of the office and authority of the pope. His views on this subject, and the doctrine in reference to it, which he wished to impress on his Irish friends, will be sufficiently understood from the following passages of his tract "On the State of the Church." "To one bishop," says he, "that is to Christ, and to his vicar the blessed apostle Peter, and the apostolic prelate presiding in his see, all the members of the Church are subject, and are governed by them."* "A primate moreover is

Views of Gillebert on the doctrine of the supremacy of the pope.

* Umber's *Synode*, ut sup. p. 201.

A. D. 1106.

himself also an archbishop ; and he does not ordain an archbishop ; for both, archbishop and primate, ought to be ordained by the apostolic prelate at Rome, or else the pall to be brought to them from Rome from the pope, and they installed by their fellow bishops, a licence which is then only granted when the case of sickness or war, or other unavoidable impediment may have occurred. . . . The position therefore which patriarchs occupy in the Eastern Churches, primates appear to occupy with us in some degree. . . But because the patriarchs (those for instance of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria) preside over apostolic sees, they for this reason ordain archbishops, and are considered in some degree equal to the prelate of Rome. To Peter only however it was said, '*Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church.*' The pope therefore alone is over all the universal Church ; and he ordains and judges all ; and is ordained by all, because the people of Rome install him by consent of the universal Church ; and he wears every day a scarlet robe, to indicate his being always ready for martyrdom."⁹

These views
not received
in Ireland
before this
time.

Such is the manner in which Gillebert concludes his lecture on papal supremacy. It was perhaps (nay, we might say more than probably) the first time that such instructions had been

⁹ Usher's *Syllage*, ut sup. p. 502.

delivered in Ireland: for they certainly had not been acted on here in earlier times. Even Celsus the primate of Ireland at that very day had not yet received them; for in a manner quite contrary to the doctrine contained in them, he established not only an archbishop, but a new archbishopric at Cashel, without seeking the pope's licence, pall, or sanction, as long as he lived. "It is probable," as Dr. Lanigan observes, "that Gillebert was encouraged in his proceedings by Anselm," and indeed that such was the case there can be very little doubt. Thus we see that the English primates exercised an active influence in helping to promote the introduction of the customs and authority of the Church of Rome into this country, even before England had obtained secular power over Ireland. Lanfranc and Anselm, the first two primates of England under the Norman kings, were men peculiarly adapted for being agents in such a work. They were both natives of Italy, and had there imbibed in early youth those notions of papal authority which they afterwards propagated in Britain. Lanfranc was the first teacher who maintained in England the doctrine of transubstantiation: Anselm the first who secured for the popes, in England, what is called the right of investiture, a right which gave them much power in disposing of the preferments of

A. D. 1104.

*Influence of
Lanfranc
and Anselm
on the Irish
Church of
this period.*

A. D. 1108.

Sketch of
the disci-
pline of the
early Irish
Church.Diocesan
episcopacy
not estab-
lished until
a very late
period.Extraordi-
nary num-
ber of bi-
shops.

the Church; and they two were also among the first who attempted to enforce the rule of single life upon all the English clergy.*

In order to be able to understand the defects which Gillebert observed in the Irish Church system, and which he sought to remedy by introducing in its place the discipline of the Church of Rome, it will be well for us to notice in this place a few particular features of the former system, in some measure peculiar to itself, which will throw light on this matter. And first, the limits of dioceses were unknown in Ireland down to a very late period; that is, according to the learned Dr. O'Connor, until the eleventh century: but even then perhaps only a few were thus defined, those of the Danish cities, e. g., &c.; and it does not seem that any general settlement of their limits was attempted for the entire island until the date of the synod of Rathbreasil, (in A.D. 1118,) of which presently. "The bishops were the bishops of monasteries and of their dependencies, but not of dioceses."† The number of bishoprics was also increased to an extraordinary extent, there having been according to some, as many as two or three hundred of

* For a further account of these two famous English primates, see Charton's History of the Early English Church, Chapters xv. and xvi.

† See Dr. O'Connor's *Columbanus ad Hibernias*, No. 4, and Lanigan *passim*; also Colgan.

them in existence in the country. Persons of more than common merit were often raised to the episcopal order out of respect for their personal character, and that, it would seem, sometimes without fixed sees, and at other times in places where there was no bishop before, nor succession of bishops regularly kept up afterwards. And in these appointments of bishops and bishoprics, no manner of reference whatever was made to any foreign authority or sanction; no one thought of applying for advice on the subject to the bishop of Rome. This was the case even in respect to the bishops of the Danish cities, who were consecrated at Canterbury, as the reader may have already observed. They were chosen by the joint suffrage of kings, nobles, clergy, and people, and thereupon consecrated too, without a notion occurring to any one of communicating on the subject with the court of Rome. The only see whose bishops exercised any sort of supreme jurisdiction was that of Armagh, which from the days of St. Patrick had been considered the metropolitan church of Ireland. But we meet with instances of other bishops also who were called archbishops, as in the case of Moling, archbishop of Ferns, in the seventh century. The dignity enjoyed however in such instances as this appears to have been

A. D. 1108.

arranged altogether independently of Roman authority.

What archiepiscopal sees were in existence.

A. D. 1106. somewhat of an honorary one in its character, and of a migratory nature, attached to the person of an individual bishop remarkable for piety, or peculiarly favoured by secular princes, and not to the see.*

The rank
and author-
ity of ab-
bets.

Moreover, the heads of monastic institutions were often regarded in much the same light with persons belonging to the episcopal order. Abbots and bishops are mentioned almost as if they were one and the same thing.† The former of necessity enjoyed, from the nature of their system, (which gave them control over other ecclesiastics,) many of the privileges belonging more properly to the latter; and the most important, if not the only proper distinction, consisted in the power of ordination to the ministry of the Church, which the bishops alone exercised. Abbots also had sometimes a sort of jurisdiction over bishops, even though being but priests

* Vid. Lanigan II. 338, 340. The archiepiscopal dignity of Leinster was removed from Gletty to Ferns in the time of St. Maldoe or Edan, (i.e. about A.D. 600) by the influence of Brandubh, king of Leinster, and in consequence of the esteem in which Maldoe was held by him and the clergy and people of that place.—Vid. Ussher, *Religion of Ancient Irish*, chap. viii. The same archiepiscopal dignity was afterwards removed to Kildare, but the archbishops of these places did not enjoy, strictly speaking, such metropolitan jurisdiction as the canon law established. They were more like those African primates who were always the oldest bishops by consecration, of the several provinces.

† Vid. Sup. p. 138, last line. Steph. Presb. Vit. Wilf. cap. 2, quoted in Ussher, *Religion of Ancient Irish*, chap. ix.

themselves; as was the case with the abbots of Iona and the bishops of their order.*

A. D. 1106.

The missions of the Irish Church in foreign parts were mostly as independent as the institutions of the Church at home. When a member of a monastic institution desired to become a missionary in some other land, he sought only the approbation and prayers of his own abbot and brethren; and fortified with this sanction, he engaged with confidence in his undertaking, seeking not in general the permission or the blessing of the bishop of Rome; unless perhaps indeed, where he thought of labouring in a country belonging properly to the jurisdiction of the Roman prelates, and yet scarcely even there.†

The Irish monastic missions.

And now to return to Gillebert and his plans for the improvement of Church discipline, it

Gillebert made pope's legate for Ireland.

* From this circumstance some indiscreet writers have drawn a foolish conclusion about the discipline of the ancient Irish Church not being episcopal. Such an opinion however argues extreme ignorance on the part of those who hold it, as the very writer who mentions the circumstance, i.e. Ven. Bede, makes frequent mention of Irish bishops, and also notices expressly the use and distinction of the episcopal order among our countrymen—vid. sup. p. 174; *Adams, Vit. S. Col. lib. i. 26. Canis. (44. Colg.) A.A. 55. &c., passim*. Another sagacious writer argues that because Nennius mentions St. Patrick as having founded 365 churches, and consecrated 365 bishops, ergo, there were no bishops except ministers of churches; i.e. the ancient Irish churchmen were *Congregational Independents!* The ingenuity of this argument might seem amusing, were it not for Nennius's mentioning in the same sentence, 3000 presbyters, i.e. about eight for each bishop.—Vid. sup. p. 37.

† Vid. sup. p.p. 252, 253, 255, 256.

A.D. 1106.

would seem that he met with no small encouragement in his work. For his objects were more and more carried into effect while he lived, and in his advancing years he saw others raised up and still rising to continue with new energy the labours which he had vigorously commenced. His appointment to the office of pope's legate which took place after the publication of the works of his already mentioned,* was no doubt an honour bestowed on him as a reward for his exertions on behalf of the Church of Rome, which he obtained perhaps through the influence of his friend Anselm.

*Account of
Celsus arch-
bishop of
Armagh.
A.D. 1106.*

The see of Armagh was at this time occupied by the prelate Celsus, already mentioned, who was a person of earnest and laborious zeal in the work of his ministry. He was raised to the episcopal office (in A.D. 1105) probably through family influence, before he had arrived at the canonical age, and when he was only about twenty-six years old. Thenceforth he began to attend with diligence to the duties belonging to his office, making several visitations through different parts of the country, and holding various councils for the arrangement of ecclesiastical affairs. Some of these synods were very numerously attended, as for instance that of Fiadh-mac-Engusa, or Engus Grove, (a

*Synod of
Fiadh-mac-
Engusa.
A.D. 1111.*

* *See, iv. 37.*

locality the exact site of which is now uncertain,) at which there were present (in A.D. 1111) the archbishop of Cashel, fifty other bishops, three hundred priests, and three thousand ecclesiastics, besides Murtoth O'Brian, king of Southern Ireland, and the nobles of his kingdom. We have however no authentic account of any thing of much importance having been transacted in this synod. It does not seem to have embraced any of the authorities of "Northern Ireland," excepting, of course, the primate.*

A. D. 1118.

But a more important synod was convened some time after, (and probably in 1118,) at a place called Rathbreasil, the position of which, strange to say, is now uncertain.† At this synod were present the archbishops of Armagh and Cashel, and a number of bishops, clergy, and distinguished laymen, from all parts of Ireland. And on this occasion for the first time, a pope's legate was the president of an Irish council, Gillebert, bishop of Limerick, acting in that capacity. The meeting was occupied chiefly in forming a regular division of dioceses throughout Ireland, and in fixing their boundaries. And it was decreed that exclusively of Dublin, which was left subject to Canterbury, there should be twenty-four dioceses; twelve in Northern Ireland subject to the archbishop of Armagh, and

Synod or
Council of
Rathbreasil.
A.D. 1118?

The first at
which a
pope's legate
presided in
Ireland.

Attempt to
reduce and
settle the
dioceses of
Ireland.

* Ib. iv. 30—37.

† Ib. 38.

A. D. 1118.
 Its success
 trifling.

twelve in Southern Ireland subject to the archbishop of Cashel. But this attempt to reduce the number of the sees of Ireland, and reorganise the system, did not succeed to any considerable extent; the provisions made for the purpose having never been carried into effect. Shortly after the date of this synod it is said that the people of Dublin agreed (in A.D. 1121) to allow Celsus of Armagh to have archiepiscopal jurisdiction over them; but they did not abide by this decision, as appears from their sending Gregory in that same year to be consecrated at Canterbury. It is probably to some dispute on this subject that the letter of the citizens of Dublin, already quoted (at p. 433) refers.*

This synod
 a proof of
 Gillebert's
 influence
 with the
 Irish clergy.

From the transactions of the synod of Rathbreasil, it appears that the prelates and clergy of Ireland were ready to co-operate with Gillebert in his plans for the remodelling of their Church system. His travels abroad, foreign education, and intimacy with Anselm, furnished him no doubt with many attractive advantages;

* Lanigan iv. 42, seqq. Of the northern dioceses five were in Ulster, viz., Clogher, Ardara, Derry, Connor, Down; five in Connaught, viz., Tuam, Clonfert, Cong, Killybegs, Ardara; and two in Meath, viz., Drogheda and Clonard. Of the southern dioceses (besides Cashel) six were in Munster, viz., Lismore or Waterford, Cork, Rathmalgar, Dromore, (i.e. Ardara) Limerick, Killybegs, Emly; and five in Leinster, viz., Kilkenny, Leighlin, Kildare, Glendalough, and Ferns. Thus Waterford and Limerick were to be withdrawn from subjection to Canterbury.—Vid. Appx. No. x.

and the systematic order and harmonious arrangement of the several parts of the system which he invited them to adopt, with its fair promises of promoting the unity of the Church, and thus strengthening the influence of religion and religious men, were well adapted for winning friends to the cause which he advocated. While on the other hand the low tone of Christianity then prevalent in the Irish Church, and the weakening and debasing effects of the Danish and civil wars, must have left the country in such a state, that people would readily embrace, in the hope of gaining some advantages, a system recommended to them by the most learned, active, and zealous persons then to be found in their Church. We need not wonder therefore if Gillebert's proposals for introducing a reform were readily accepted; although perhaps the members of the Irish Church in that day were far from anticipating the future consequences that would accrue to their successors from the circumstance of their allowing a pope's legate once to gain a footing among them. Little in all probability did they think how the beginning thus made would be in after times improved upon, extended, and shamefully abused.

The country was still in a miserable state with civil wars; and the Irish princes and nobles involved in them were now become almost as

A. D. 1116.

Ireland still
miserably
harrassed
with civil
wars.

A. D. 1109.

Outrages
perpetrated
by the Irish
chieftains.

bad as the Danes themselves, and scrupled not to plunder, devastate, and burn religious houses and churches. Thus we read of the church and village of Ardraccon being burned in A.D. 1109, Clonmacnoise plundered and laid waste in 1111, and again in 1115; the abbot of Kells and others there killed on a Sunday in 1117, Cashel and Lismore burned in 1121, Emly plundered in 1123, and the steeple of Trim church, with a large number of people shut up in it, burned in 1127. In 1134 the cathedral of Tuam was stormed, and Derry, the churches of Raphoe, Clonard, Roscommon, and others were burned. All these barbarous outrages were the work of various Irish princes, and their followers, the O'Brians of Munster, &c. "Thus it appears," as Dr. Lanigan observes,* "that several of the Irish princes and chieftains had imbibed the spirit of the Danes, sparing neither churches, nor monasteries, nor ecclesiastics, according as suited their views; a system which was held in abhorrence by their ancestors, and which often excited them to unite in defence of their altars against the Scandinavian robbers. This was one of the sad effects of the contests between various powerful families aspiring to the sovereignty of all Ireland, and again between divers members of said families quarrelling among

* Eccl. Hist. iv. 54, 56.

themselves for precedence. In these contests the respective parties and their adherents stopped at nothing while endeavouring to establish their claims, and harrassed and persecuted all those whom they looked upon as their opponents." Brian Boru, we have seen, was the first that gave a rise to these unhappy contests, which led to so much evil. When the country was in such a state, its princes no longer acting as nursing fathers to the Church, but rather as vultures preying upon its vitals, it is no wonder if the agents of the Church of Rome found it easy to arrange ecclesiastical matters according to their own taste, and to propagate without much opposition their own favorite system, laying its foundations with a degree of strength proportionate to the weakness of the ruined structure in place of which they were now to rear up a new edifice.

A. D. 1134.

Brian Boru partly the originator of these mischiefs.

CHAP III.

OF THE LIFE AND ACTS OF MALACHY, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH—
AND OF THE STATE OF THE IRISH CHURCH IN HIS TIME.

Among those of the Irish clergy who entered into Gillebert's views, and endeavoured to carry out his plans for the reconstruction of their Church, none was more conspicuous for the

Life of Malachy archbishop of Armagh.
A. D. 1088—1144.

A. D. 1096.

**S. Bernard's
memoir of
him.**

**His high
opinion of
Malachy.**

energetic zeal and untiring industry with which he applied himself to the proposed undertaking, than the famous Malachy, archbishop of Armagh. And there is perhaps among the historical records of that time relating to Irish affairs, which are still extant, none more authentic and interesting than the life of this prelate, written by the celebrated St. Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, his own most intimate friend. Malachy appears to have been certainly a man of the greatest piety, diligence, and devotedness to the work of his ministry, but by no means free from the antisciptural superstitions of the age in which he lived; and he was, as we shall see, one of the most active promoters of the rising influence of the Church of Rome in Ireland, and a most effectual instrument for introducing her authority among us. His life by Bernard is so full of instructive information connected with the state of the Church of Ireland in the twelfth century and previously, that we shall have occasion to make copious extracts from it in the following pages.

Bernard commences his work by giving an account of the childhood and youth of Malachy. "Our friend Malachy," says he, "born in Ireland among the barbarous people of that land, was there brought up, and there received his education. But from the barbarian soil that

gave him birth, he derived no more of his nature than the fishes of the sea derive from their native element. How delightful to think that a wild and barbarous land should have given birth to one so worthy a fellow-citizen of the saints and of the household of God! He that can bring forth honey from the rock, and oil from the flinty stone, it was He who brought this to pass."

A. D. 1096.

Malachy was of the ancient and noble family of the O'Morgairs, and his original name was Maol-maodhog.* He was born in all probability in the year 1095. In his childhood he exhibited the marks of a pious and amiable disposition; and being instructed with most religious care by his devout mother, he paid such attention to her teaching, and made such progress under it, as well rewarded all her pains and anxiety; so that while "he learned his ordinary lessons for school, he was taught at home the fear of the Lord." At length, as his youth advanced, turning now his thoughts more entirely to sacred and ecclesiastical studies, he became a pupil of one Imar at Armagh, who enjoyed the reputation of being an eminent and holy teacher, and a strict pattern of religious austerity.†

Malachy's birth, childhood, and education.

For his singular diligence, piety, and zeal, he

His ordination, about A.D. 1120.

* Or rather, according to the pronunciation, *Malmogua*.

† *Vit. Mal. cap. i. Ed. Bened. Paris. 1829. vol. i. c. 1465. Lan. iv. 89, 90.*

A. D. 1130.

was ordained deacon and priest before the regular canonical time; nor was this all, for Celsus who was then archbishop of Armagh, honoured him further by entrusting to him a vicarial authority for regulating the affairs of that diocese. In this new character of vicar to the primate, Malachy at once set to work with renewed diligence to reform in his own way the state of the Church under his care, discountenancing vice and irregularity in every form, "banishing barbarian rites, introducing Church ones, and abolishing all the old superstitions, of which there was no small number to be found in the country."*

His activity
and zeal in
the work of
the ministry

His efforts to
introduce
the customs
of Rome
into Ireland.

"Further, he busied himself in establishing in all the churches the apostolical constitutions, and the decrees of the holy fathers, and especially the customs of the holy Church of Rome; and hence it is that at this day," (*i.e.* about A.D. 1150, when Bernard wrote,) "there is chanting and singing in those churches at the canonical hours, according to the manner of the whole earth, for heretofore this was not done even in the city itself:† [*i.e.* Armagh:] but he [*i.e.* Malachy] had learned singing in his youth, and shortly after had in-

* Vit. Mal. cap. 3.

† "Thus St. Malachy realized, as far as concerned that diocese, the plan of Gillebert of Limerick relative to the substitution of the Roman office for the Irish ones."—Lanigan iv. 63. The practice of chanting the prayers of the Church was, among the Irish, at least as old as the time of St. Columbkille, (*i.e.* A.D. 564.)—Vid. Adamn. Vit. S. Col. iii. 12.

troduced it into his own monastery, when as yet, as well in the city as in the whole bishopric, they either knew not or would not sing. Besides, Malachy restored the most salutary practice of confession, the sacrament of confirmation, the marriage contract, all of which the people either were unacquainted with, or neglected.* His are Bernard's words: so far however as they apply to marriage, they cannot be taken for literally true, since it is certain that this holy ordinance had been well known to the Irish in the earliest times, as would appear from the canons ascribed to St. Patrick, if there were no other proof of the circumstance. Bernard therefore can only mean that their practices with regard to it were at variance with the canon law of the Church of Rome at that time, or else that irregularities were tolerated.

A. D. 1190.

His taste for church music, and care in respect to confession, marriages, and confirmation.

Malachy however in the midst of his zeal became uneasy, lest he should unwittingly offend in doctrine or practice against any established law of the Church: in order therefore to be rightly informed as to such particulars, he sought instruction from one who was considered well capable of supplying him with such knowledge, as Bernard informs us in the following words,—“It therefore occurred to him to go to Bishop Malchus to be more fully informed of all these

He goes to Lismore to learn something more of church discipline, &c., about A.D. 1122,

* *Vlt. Mal. ut sup.*

A. D. 1120.

and studies
with one
that had
been a monk
in England.

While at
Lismore he
forms a new
acquaint-
ance of some
considera-
tion, proba-
bly in
A.D. 1127.

He re-
establishes
the monas-
tery of Bangor.

particulars. The latter was an aged man, full of days and of virtues, and the wisdom of God was in him : an Irishman indeed as to his country, but who had lived in England in the habit and profession of a monk, in the monastery of Winchester ; from which he was promoted to be bishop in the city of Lismore in Munster : it is a capital of that kingdom.* This Malchus is thought by some to have been the same with the person already mentioned as having been appointed bishop for the people of Waterford.†

While Malachy remained with Bishop Malchus, a king of Munster, whose name was Cormac Mac Carthy, was driven from his throne by a cousin of his, in consequence of which he came and sought refuge with Malchus, and became a monk of his community, under the special charge of Malachy ; afterwards however he was again restored to his throne. Meanwhile a close intimacy and friendship had been formed between Malachy and Cormac, while they were both engaged in the exercises of monastic retirement, under the guidance of Malchus. Bernard attributes this circumstance to a providential arrangement, the tendency of which was to increase Malachy's influence and power of doing good.

After Malachy's return from Lismore, the next work in which we find him engaged was

* Vit. Mal. cap. iv. † *Religion of Ancient Irish*, chap. viii.

that of restoring the ruined monastery of Bangor, which had been desolate for a considerable time, in consequence of the ravages of pirates, *i.e.* most probably the Danes. The lands belonging to it were however still occupied by persons called abbots, and they were at the time in question held by an uncle of Malachy's, who had been elected to that sinecure situation. He offered to give them up to his nephew for the purpose of re-establishing the institution there; but Malachy, not setting his heart on such property, was unwilling to accept of it, and contented himself with merely the site of the monastery. On this he constructed a smaller one of wood, in which he revived the old discipline, becoming himself head of the little community which he established there. His uncle was one of those who placed themselves under his direction in the newly formed establishment, having previously resigned the charge of the abbey lands, which were transferred to another person, chosen according to the usual custom, for that office.*

* Vid. Lan. iv. 78. It appears that in Ireland in early times influential persons were chosen as a sort of churchwardens, to be the managers and protectors of the Church lands. But they in process of time began gradually to usurp for the use of themselves and their families the property so entrusted to them; part of which was known by the name of *Termon lands*, *i.e.* Church territories, free from all claims of secular lords. The stewards or managers here spoken of were designated (*Comorbans*, *Comorbais*, or as more commonly called) *Corbas*, and *Erenachs*. *Comorbans* means *possessor* or *inheritor* of the same *patrimony* or land, and it seems originally to have signified

A. D. 1137.

He is made
bishop of
Connor,
about
A.D. 1137.

The next step in Malachy's promotion was his advancement, when he was about thirty years old, to the bishopric of Connor, an exaltation which his humillty long refused, until he was forced to accept it by the urgent persuasions of his master Imar, and Archbishop Celsus. The state in which he found his diocese, Bernard describes as follows :—

Bernard's
description
of the state
in which he
found his
diocese.

“About the thirtieth year of his age, Malachy having been consecrated bishop, is introduced to Connor, for this was the name of the town. But as soon as he had commenced acting in his new office, then it was that this man of God knew that it was not men, but beasts, he had to deal with. No where yet had he met with the like in the most savage place; no where had he found people so profligate in their morals, so ungodly in their faith, barbarous as to their laws, stiff-necked against discipline, filthy in their lives, Christians in name—in reality pagans. They did not pay tithes, nor first-fruits, nor keep to lawful wedlock, nor go to confession; abso-

a successor in an ecclesiastical dignity. Thus the *Comorban of St. Patrick* was the archbishop of Armagh, the *Comorban of Columbkille* was the abbot of Iona, &c. The persons who seized on Church lands in the way above noted, were afterwards called *Comorbans*: they were elected out of particular families who kept the right to themselves, leaving the clergy only whatever was paid in the way of tithes and offerings. The *Erenachs* were an inferior class, held smaller farms, sometimes under the *Comorban*, and were more numerous. It was necessary for them when elected to be confirmed in their office by the bishop. The word *Erenach* appears to signify an archdeacon.—*Vid. Len. iv. 73.—Ordinance Survey of Derry, Vol. I. pp. 20, 49, 80.*

lutely there could not be found one either to impose a penance, or submit to it. There were very few ministers of the altar. But to be sure, what need of more, when even those few were almost entirely idle, without any thing to do among the laity? They had no opportunity of gaining the fruit of their services among such a profligate people. No voice of preacher or chanter was heard in the churches. What then was the soldier of the Lord to do? He must either retreat in disgrace, or else engage in a perilous combat.*

Malachy chose the latter alternative, and although according to St. Bernard's account, he found "all" his flock to be "wolves, and no sheep among them," he did not despair, but set himself to work and use every possible endeavour to turn the wolves into sheep. Admonitions and threats to the careless in the daytime, and tears and prayers in their behalf, continued all night; personal addresses in the streets and villages to such as would not come to church, and visits on foot to the country parts and towns, "to seek out persons to bring to Christ," together with patient enduring of all the curses and ill-treatment which he encountered in such labours, could not fail to produce an effect on the people, which, in Bernard's way of describing matters, is thus related:—

A. D. 1122.

Account of
Malachy's
labours at
Connac.

* VII. Mal. cap. viii.

A. D. 1137.

Success of
his ex-
ortions there.

"The barbarian laws are abolished, those of Rome are introduced; the customs of the Church are adopted every where, and the opposite rejected; the temples are rebuilt and the clergy ordained in them. The solemn rites of the sacraments are duly celebrated, confessions are attended to, the people crowd to church, the marriage ceremony gives its sanction to the intercourse of the sexes; in fine every thing is so much changed for the better, that at this day we may well apply to that nation what the Lord saith by his prophet, *They who before were not my people, are my people now.*"

He is driven
by war from
his diocese:and retires
again to
Alemster.

But Malachy's labours were interrupted here by civil war. A prince of the north of Ireland invading that part of the country, attacked and destroyed the town of Connor; in consequence of which, its bishop was forced to seek for safety in flight, and to retire to the south of Ireland. The place he came to was called Ibrach, and it was situated in the kingdom of Cormac, the monarch who had formerly (when driven from his throne) been Malachy's companion at Lismore. Cormac was delighted to see his friend once more, and hospitably supplied him and the hundred and twenty brethren who accompanied him, with abundance of all necessaries. Ibrach is supposed to be the same with the place now called Iveragh, a barony of Kerry.

About this time it came to pass that the primate Celsus fell sick, and knowing that his end was near, "he made a sort of will by which Malachy was nominated for his successor, as no one else appeared to be more worthy of filling the principal see of Ireland. This appointment Celsus announced to those who were present with him, enjoined upon such as were absent; this he gave in charge, by the authority of St. Patrick, specially to the two kings of Munster, and to the princes of the land." For he was in Munster at the time of his death, which took place at Ardpatrick, (in the present county of Limerick,) on the 1st of April, A.D. 1129, he being then fifty years old. We may observe that in this appointment of Malachy to the archbishopric, Celsus never thought of consulting the pope's opinion or wishes, the sanction of the latter to such appointments not being then recognised in Ireland. Very strange irregularities had however (as already noticed*) taken place in the succession to the see of Armagh before this time, of which Bernard speaks in the following terms:—

"But however, a scandalous custom had been introduced by the diabolical ambition of certain of the nobles, that the holy see [*i.e.* Armagh] should be obtained by hereditary succession.

A. D. 1129.

The primate Celsus dying A. D. 1129, appoints Malachy his successor.

Bernard's account of the disorders in the episcopal succession at Armagh before this period—

* Sup. p 410.

A. D. 1129.

and of the
state of Ire-
land in con-
sequence.

For they allowed no one to be promoted to the bishopric, unless such as were of their own tribe and family; nor was it for any short period this execrable succession had continued, as nearly fifteen generations had already passed away in this villainy. And so firmly had this wicked and adulterous generation established their unholy right, (or wrong rather, that deserved to be punished with any sort of death,) that although on some occasions clergymen of their blood were not to be found among them, yet bishops they never were without. In fine, there had been already before the time of Celsus, eight individuals who were married, and without orders, yet still men of education. Hence arose all that neglect of church discipline throughout the entire of Ireland which we have already mentioned; hence that relaxation of censures, and wasting away of religion; hence too that wild savage spirit that had stolen into the place of Christian meekness, nay a sort of Paganism introduced under the Christian name. For (what was unheard of since the very origin of Christianity) with utter disregard of order or cause, bishops were changed at the will of the metropolitan, so that one bishopric was not content with a single bishop, but almost every church must have a bishop of its own; and no wonder, for how could

the limbs be healthy when the head was thus diseased?"*

A. D. 1129.

Such was the state of things in Ireland in the twelfth century, as described by one of the most eminent and esteemed writers of the Church of Rome. Bernard's description however seems to have been somewhat highly coloured, as if he were not a little prejudiced against our forefathers in consequence of that independence in ecclesiastical affairs which they so long maintained. His expressions are strong and violent so long as he deals in general terms, but when we come to particulars, those which he mentions as the principal evils of the Irish Church, are scarcely of sufficient enormity to account for the indignation he exhibits. Having spoken of the Christianity then existing in Ireland as being but a sort of paganism, he refers chiefly in proof of the charge to such things as irregularity in episcopal appointments, neglect of the confessional and penance, non-payment of tithes and fruits, and general disrespect for the sacraments, customs, and authority of the Church of Rome.

Bernard's
censure
perhaps too
severe.

* Dr. Lanigan asserts in a very decided manner, that the hereditary usurpers of the see of Armagh were careful to have lawful bishops as vicars, to perform clerical functions for them. But there seems to be no proof whatever of this. There were indeed coadjutors, called suffragan bishops of Armagh, even in the times of lawful and regularly ordained archbishops. Had there been any thing of more regular vicars, Bernard would probably have known and mentioned it.—Vid. Lan. iii. 382, 428. iv. 48, 106. Vit. S. Mal. cap. 10.

CHAP. IV.

CONTINUATION OF THE LIFE AND ACTS OF ST. MALACHY, FROM
THE TIME OF HIS APPOINTMENT TO THE ARCHBISHOPRIC OF
ARMAGH.

A. D. 1129.

Malachy's
appointment to the
primacy re-
sisted by the
usurping
family.

Malchus of
Lismore, and
Gillebert of
Limerick,
urge him to
assume the
office.

ARCHBISHOP Celsus* reflecting on the scandalous manner in which the see of Armagh had been made family property for so long a time, was of opinion that there could be no better remedy devised for this evil, than the appointment to the primacy of one so generally influential and beloved as Malachy. He therefore nominated him in the manner already mentioned. One of the old family however, named Maurice, seized on the bishopric, and held it for five years "with the aid of the secular power," during which period it seems that Malachy was at Ibrach in Munster, as already stated. Malachy's friends were however very anxious that he should undertake the office according to the decree of Celsus; and two of them in particular were extremely urgent in endeavouring to persuade him to this step, namely, "Malchus and Gillebert, of whom the former is the same venerable personage of Lismore, whom we have already men-

* The original Irish name is *Kellach*, i.e. Kelly, Latinized into Celsus.

tioned; the other the person who they say was the first to exercise the office of legate to the apostolic see in all Ireland."*

A. D. 1129.

Malachy's retiring disposition however made him resist the importunities of his friends for three years, till at length a meeting of the bishops and princes having been summoned to consider the matter, they forced him with threats to accept the proposed dignity. Even after this however he did not attempt to enter Armagh during the remaining two years of Maurice's life, lest by doing so he should cause any bloodshed or death among those to whom he came to minister life; but in all the country parts of the province he diligently employed himself in the duties of his episcopal office.

He is at length induced to consent.

A. D. 1132.

On the death of Maurice, another named Nigellus, (or Nial) one of the old race, appointed by him as his heir, succeeded in the usurpation. "But the king and bishops and faithful of the land" assembled to introduce Malachy into Armagh. Opposition and conspiracies were used by the other party to frustrate this endeavour, but they were defeated; miraculously, according to Bernard: Nigellus in consequence was obliged to flee from the place, his party sadly lamenting these proceedings, and complaining that they were robbed of their inheritance. Malachy meanwhile with

Nial attempts to usurp the primacy.
A. D. 1134.

* *Vit. Mal. cap. x.*

A. D. 1134. persevering diligence attended to the administration of the affairs of his bishopric, not indeed without constant danger from secret plots ; no one however daring openly to hurt him : but at length Nigellus was obliged to submit, and live in quiet acquiescence with a state of things which he had endeavoured in vain to avert.

but is obliged at length to resign his claim.

Malachy retires to the bishopric of Down.

A.D. 1137.

Gelasius made primate.

Malachy when forced to accept the archbishopric, had done so with an understanding that in case order and peace were restored to the Church, he should be allowed again to resign the high office entrusted to him ; and the desirable object which he had looked forward to having been attained in the space of three years, he then thought of fulfilling his purpose ; and " seeing that all things were now in peace, he began to think of peace for himself ;" and accordingly " substituted in his own place, Gelasius, a good man, and one worthy of such an honour, the clergy and people consenting to the appointment."* He himself now retired again, in A.D. 1137, to the scene of his former labours ; but not exactly to Connor ; for this reason, that that diocese included two ancient episcopal sees, having had formerly two bishops ; and Malachy thought it better to divide the two parishes, (so

* Vit. Mal. esp. xiv. Here again it may be observed, that the idea of the necessity of any sanction from the pope to this kind of appointment never seems to have entered the peoples' minds in those days.

were the bishoprics sometimes named in those days,) "which ambition had joined into one. A. D. 1137.
And as he had already ordained a bishop for Connor, leaving him a part of the diocese, he retained the remaining part for himself, and took up his residence at Down."

However even after his retirement from the archbishopric of Armagh, Malachy seems to have still exercised an extraordinary influence in the Irish Church, for one who was only bishop of Down; for in A.D. 1139, on the death of his brother Christian, who was bishop of Clogher, he appointed and consecrated for that see one of his own disciples named Aedan.*

Malachy in his new situation manifested his usual diligence and zeal in arranging and ordering ecclesiastical affairs. "It appeared to him however," says Bernard, "that it was scarce safe to carry on such proceedings without the authority of the apostolic see, and he therefore forms the intention of setting out for Rome; and especially because the metropolitan see [*i. e.* Armagh,] was, and from the very first had been, without the pall, an article which is the highest badge of honour; and it appeared to him that it would be a good thing if the Church for which he had laboured so much, could by his exertion and pains, obtain this ornament which it had

Malachy's anxiety to obtain Roman palls for Ireland.

* *Vid. Len. iv. p. 100.*

A. D. 1137. never had before. There was likewise another metropolitan see which Celsus had recently established, subordinate however to that first see and its archbishop as primate. For this too Malachy was hoping to obtain a pall, and also to procure the confirmation of the apostolic see, for the privilege which, by favour of Celsus, it had attained to. When this intention became known, it displeased his brethren, and also the princes and people of the land; for they were all afraid that so long an absence of him whom they all looked upon as a father, would be an insupportable trial; and besides they were apprehensive of his death." So says Bernard. Perhaps a further reason why they disliked this mission to Rome was, that they had no sufficient relish for introducing any further Roman influence or authority among themselves generally, and that they did not much care for the ornament which Malachy had thus set his heart upon. It was possibly a desire to obtain this "high badge of honour" for his native Church that had induced him to resign the primacy; his humility being unwilling to solicit for his own personal decoration, a distinction so unheard of before that time in the land which gave him birth.

not univer-
sally appro-
ved of in the
country.

Malachy
goes to
Rome.
A.D. 1139.

Malachy however was resolved on this journey, and therefore, having succeeded in overcoming all opposition, away he went, in A.D. 1139, to

visit Rome: and there he was very kindly received by Innocent II., the reigning pope, who showed him every attention; and "for an entire month he remained in the city, visiting the holy places, and frequenting them for the purpose of prayer.

And when during this period the pope had often and attentively inquired of him and of those who were with him, concerning the state of their country, the habits of the people, the condition of the churches, and the great things which God had wrought by his means in his native land, as he was now preparing to return home, he [*i.e.*

Innocent] entrusted him [*i.e.* Malachy] with delegated authority from himself, making him his legate for all Ireland; for it had been intimated to him by Bishop Gillebert, (who as we have said above, was then legate,) that he could not any longer attend to his duties, from weakness and old age. Malachy next makes application to have the establishment of the new metropolis confirmed, and palls entrusted to himself for both sees. And as to the privilege of the confirmation, that he received presently:—

'But with respect to the palls,' says the supreme pontiff, 'we must manage that in a more solemn manner. You must summon together the bishops and clergy, and nobles of your land, and hold a general council of them. And in this way, with the consent and by the common desire of all, you

A.D. 1120.

The pope's inquiries about Ireland.

Malachy is made legate for Ireland.

The pope's answer in regard to the palls.

A. D. 1128.

can then send over for the pall by respectable agents, and it shall be given you.'"^{*}

its wisdom.

Such was the prudent answer of Pope Innocent relative to the palls; for he had sense enough to know that it would add little to the credit or influence of the Roman see here in Ireland, if they were sent over before it was quite evident that the minds of the people were fully prepared to receive them; and he adopted the best means of gaining information as to this particular.

The Irish
apparently
not anxious
for the palls.

That the Irish generally did not care then very much about these palls, appears pretty plainly from the circumstance that after Malachy's death, no further application was made for them during three years; and at the end of that period the offer came from the other side: the popes beginning to repent, apparently, of not having struck while the iron was hot, hastened to do so before it should become quite cold; and therefore, in A.D. 1151, Cardinal Paparo was despatched into Ireland with palls for the Irish archbishop. But of this by and by.

Malachy's
visit to
Clairvaux,
and their
consequen-
ces.

On his way to Rome Malachy had visited St. Bernard and the monastery at Clairvaux, and was so delighted with all he saw and met there, that he wished it were possible for him to live and die in that retirement. When returning from Rome to Ireland he paid a second visit to the

* *Vit. Mal. cap. xvi.*

same establishment, and left there some of his travelling companions, to be taught the rules and practice of the place, that they might come and organise similar institutions in Ireland. "They will serve us," said he, "for seed, and in this seed shall nations be blessed, even those nations which from old time have heard of the name of monk, but have not seen a monk;" as if those who belonged to the monastic system in Ireland were monks in name only, compared with those who lived under St. Bernard's discipline at Clairvaux. Afterwards on arriving at home, Malachy sent others in like manner, who being made monks of Bernard's order at Clairvaux, returned with others who were natives of that place, to extend their system in this country. Such intercourse could have been productive of little good to Ireland.

Malachy on his return began vigorously to exercise the new authority which he had received as pope's legate: holding councils in every part of the land, in which "the ancient traditions are restored to memory, which although allowed to be useful, had yet been abolished through the carelessness of the priests; and not only these old ones are renewed, but new ones also are invented; and every appointment of his, like some decree of heaven, is adopted, enforced, and committed to writing for the use of posterity."^a

A.D. 1120.

*His activity
as pope's
legate for
Ireland.
A.D. 1140.*

^a Ib. cap. xviii.

A. D. 1140.

Diligence of
the primates
at this pe-
riod in vi-
sitations.

Malachy
nominates a
bishop for
Cork :

The archbishops of Armagh at this period seem to have been very diligent in making visitations throughout Ireland, and extending their influence in this way. Thus one of the first public acts of Celsus in 1106, was his visitation of Ulster and Munster in that year.* In 1127, or thereabouts, he spent thirteen months out of his diocese, going through various parts of Ireland, preaching and labouring among the people.† About 1136, Malachy made a visitation of Munster;‡ and in 1138, Gelasius visited the same province and other parts of Ireland,§ and in 1140, Connaught, arranging and regulating ecclesiastical matters there.|| He also exercised a very great influence among the secular princes and chieftains of the island. And even after his retiring to the bishopric of Down, Malachy himself, we see, still visited the different parts of Ireland as pope's legate, and laboured with indefatigable activity and missionary zeal in promoting through the country the introduction of that ecclesiastical system on the establishment of which in his native land his heart was so fondly set. It seems to have been when journeying in this way, that he once happened to be near Cork at a time when the see of that place was vacant. A great contest arising about the election of a new bishop, Malachy repaired to the city, where, "summoning the clergy

* *Len.* iv. 31. † *Id.* 77. ‡ *Id.* 106. § *Id.* 106. || *Id.* 115.

and people, he strove to unite the discordant parties, and induced them to leave the matter to himself, as being invested with the legatine power.* The person nominated by him was accordingly appointed,* being probably the first Irish prelate in whose promotion the pope's authority was in any way whatsoever, directly or indirectly, concerned or acknowledged. But there were now many influential prelates in Ireland ready enough, in all probability, to extend that authority in the country; as Malachy, bishop of Down, Gelasius, archbishop of Armagh, the bishop of Connor, Aedan, bishop of Clogher, the bishop of Cork, Patrick of Limerick, and Malchus of Lismore,† (four of whom, including the primate, were of Malachy's own choosing,) not to mention others who may have been well inclined to co-operate with them. Meanwhile the foreign instructed monks, that Malachy had bespoken at Clairvaux, were beginning to come into Ireland, and in A.D. 1142, the Cistercian house of Mellifont was established by them near Drogheda, being the first of that order that was founded in the country.‡ In the course of a few years others were added in different places, of which, those of Bective in Meath, Boyle in Ros-

A.D. 1146?

who was perhaps the first Irish bishop appointed with a papal sanction.

The Cistercian monks begin to settle in Ireland, and first at Mellifont, A.D. 1142.

* Supposed to be Gillis Aeda O'Mugin, who afterwards assisted at the Council of Kells in 1162. Lan. iv. 224.

† Vid. pp. 434, 470, 471. sup. ‡ Lan. iv. 117.

A. D. 1142. common, Magio, *alias* Nenay, in Limerick, and Baltinglass in Wicklow, are next to Mellifont, the oldest foundations of the kind in Ireland.* They were established in or before A.D. 1151.

He is encouraged to make a new application for the palls.
A.D. 1145.

Several years passed away after St. Malachy's visit to Rome, and no further efforts were used for obtaining the palls. At length, in A.D. 1145, Pope Eugenius III. commenced his reign; and as he had been a monk of Clairvaux, Malachy confidently hoped that he should be able to obtain from him the desired privilege without any difficulty. Two years more were allowed to elapse without any further steps being taken; but at the close of that time a favourable opportunity of bringing matters to maturity seemed to present itself.

Synod of Holmpatrick.
A.D. 1148.

In A.D. 1148, Eugenius visited France; and Malachy, hearing that he was staying for a while at Clairvaux, hoped that he might be able to visit him there before his departure, and obtain there most easily what he desired. He therefore summoned a national synod at Holmpatrick, where after three days spent in the consideration of other matters, the business of the palls was introduced on the fourth day; and Malachy, though not without some opposition, induced the assembly to agree that he himself should go as their agent to Pope Eugenius, to request him to grant the long-wished-for favour.

* *Ann. iv. 137.*

It would seem however that this application for the palls was not a very popular proceeding on Malachy's part: for although the meeting at Holmpatrick appears to have been summoned principally with a view to this matter, yet it was not brought forward until near the close of the deliberations on that occasion, after three days had been spent in considering other matters. The number of prelates in attendance was also very small, there being present only fifteen bishops, and of priests but two hundred; thus forming a very inconsiderable assemblage indeed, compared with others that had met not long before to deliberate upon matters apparently less weighty than that which was to be discussed at Holmpatrick.*

A. D. 1148.
Malachy's efforts for the palls not apparently popular with his countrymen.

Malachy after setting out on his journey to France, was delayed in his progress through England, so that when he arrived in Clairvaux, Pope Eugenius had left it: he would have followed the pontiff to Italy, but was seized, before he could do so, with a violent fever, which ended his earthly existence in a few days. It had been his wish to live and die at Clairvaux; the former

Malachy makes a second journey to the continent for the palls.

His death, A.D. 1148.

* Vid. p. 451, sup. At the synod of Meilfont in A.D. 1157, which "was held for the mere object of consecrating a church," (Len. iv. 165, 167,) there were present, besides the primate and pope's legate, seventeen other bishops, &c. And at another similar synod in the following year, in which nothing of first-rate importance was transacted, twenty-five or twenty-six prelates attended.—(Ib.)

A. D. 1148.

His superstitions increased.

His miracles exemplified in connection with extreme unction and transubstantiation.

part of his wish was denied him, but he obtained the latter part, and peacefully breathed his last in the presence of his beloved St. Bernard, and the other brethren of the community at Clairvaux. He died on the 2nd of November, A.D. 1148, in the fifty-fourth year of his age.

It is unnecessary for us to dwell on St. Malachy's character in this place; our only object in making such copious extracts from his life, being to inform the reader of those transactions in it, which were so intimately connected with the general history of the Church of Ireland in his time. But as we have already remarked that he was by no means free from the superstitions that abounded in those days, (a remark which applies to his biographer, St. Bernard, equally with himself,) we may add in reference to this one particular, that it appears sufficiently from various circumstances recorded of him, in the work which has been so largely quoted in this chapter and the preceding one. Those circumstances are not worth being detailed at length here; but the bare mention of two out of many will give a sufficient idea of their nature. St. Bernard tells us that a careless and ungodly sister of Malachy's having died in her sins, was refused admittance into heaven, until Malachy had procured an entrance for her by repeated performances of the sacrifice of the mass: and in another part of the

same work we read of his restoring to life a lady who had died without the benefit of extreme unction; at St. Malachy's intercession she is said to have revived, until the omitted ceremony was performed, after which, we are told, she again relapsed into the slumber of death. Malachy was also an upholder of the doctrine of transubstantiation, which it would seem was pretty generally received among the Irish in his time: for in a synod convened for the purpose, he excommunicated and anathematized a clergyman of Lismore who refused to acknowledge the truth of that doctrine; the clergyman in question objecting to the proceeding, on the ground that he was worsted not by argument, but by the bishop's (*i.e.* Malachy's) authority; and that the others who joined in condemning him were all favouring the man and not the truth.

Malachy was canonized a great many years after his death by Pope Clement (III. probably,) in 1190, or thereabouts, being the first Irishman, as it seems, that was ever indebted for such an honour to a decree of a Roman bishop.*

A. D. 1149.

Malachy the
first Irish-
man canon-
ized at
Rome.

* Reim. of A. I. ch. viii. Lan. Ec. Hist. iv. 134.

CHAP. V.

ACCOUNT OF THE SYDOD OF KILLA.—INVASION OF IRELAND BY
THE ENGLISH PROPOSED.—BULL OF POPE ADRIAN IV.

A. D. 1151.

Cardinal
Paparo sent
into Ireland
with four
palls.

AFTER the death of Malachy the next person appointed to the situation of pope's legate in Ireland, was Christian, bishop of Lismore, who had been previously abbot of Mellifont, and was promoted to the episcopal dignity in A.D. 1150 or 1151, and to the office of legate much about the same time. A foreign legate was however appointed in 1151, to visit Ireland for the purpose of presenting palls to the Irish archbishops, and settling ecclesiastical matters in a more satisfactory way. Of this visit a valuable old writer gives us the following account:—"In the year of grace 1151, which is the sixteenth year of the reign of King Stephen, Pope Eugene sent four palls by his legate, John Papiro, into Ireland, to which country no pall had ever been sent before; and established four archbishops in four localities, viz., Armagh, Cashel, Dublin, and Connaught," (or Tuam).*

* Lan. iv. 137, 138. Roger de Hoveden, *Annal.* an. 1151, p. 281. Lond. 1596. — Hoveden belonged to the household of Henry II., and was afterwards chief professor of theology at Oxford. He flourished in 1196. His annals reach from A.D. 731, where Bede ended, to A.D.

On his arrival in Ireland Paparo visited first Gelasius the primate, at Armagh, and remained with him seven days, after which Gelasius presently went to Connaught, "apparently for the purpose of consulting with the King Turlogh O'Connor, and forwarding the business of the approaching synod," which was to be held at Kells for the purpose of distributing the palls, &c. It did not however meet until the 9th of March, A.D. 1152; for the cardinal had not arrived in Ireland until late in the preceding year, and some months, it seems, were needed in order to give time for summoning the bishops, their travelling to attend it, and other necessary preparations. Meanwhile Paparo remained in the country, visiting probably the different provinces, and observing the condition of the Church and people throughout the island.*

A. D. 1152.
Preparations for the synod of Kells.

The synod having assembled at Kells, was presided over by Paparo, who although being himself merely a priest, yet as legate of the

Several of the bishops and clergy refuse to attend the synod.

1302, and are very valuable. They are in some places a little inaccurate, especially in chronology; but the extreme accuracy of other parts enables us to correct some of the errors that may be observed, whether arising from mistakes of the author, or errors of transcribers. Vid. Cava, *Hist. Litt.* Ox. 1743, tom. 2, p. 258; Nicholson's (English) *Historical Library*, vol. 1. p. 160, Lond. 1697. A passage nearly identical with that from Hoveden, given in the text above, is quoted by Archbishop Usher from the *Annals of Melrose Abbey*, a MS. (referred to the year 1392,) in the Cotton Library.—Vid. Usher's *Religion of Ancient Irish*, chap. viii.

* *Lan.* iv. 140.

A. D. 1182.

Alleged reason why.

List of the prelates, &c. in attendance.

pope, took precedence of the Irish bishops and archbishops. "Several bishops," we are told, "did not attend at this synod; and one of the reasons of their absence seems to have been, that many of the Irish were displeased at palliums being intended for the sees of Dublin and Tuam, whereas they thought that none should be granted except to Armagh and Cashel, which was already an archbishopric. And it is to be observed that the clergy of Armagh and Down particularly insisted on this point."* But the *prelates* of these two dioceses appear to have been otherwise minded, as they sanctioned the acts of the synod by their presence.

The record of the names of the prelates who assisted at this important synod is still preserved; and the following are placed at the head of the list:—"Christian O'Conairche,† bishop of Lismore, and the pope's legate in Ireland; Gelasius, comorban of St. Patrick, and primate of Ireland; Donald O'Lonargain, archbishop of Munster, (Cashel;) Grenius or Gregory, (*alias* Greri,) bishop of Dublin." Then follow the names of seventeen other prelates, or their vicars, who were at the synod.‡ There were

* *Law*. iv. 140.

† Now pronounced O'Connery.

‡ *Viz* :—those of Glendaloch, Leighlin, Waterford, Ossory, Kildare, Emly, Cork, Clonfert, Ardfert, Limerick, Clonmacnoise, East Connaught, (Roscommon) Lugna, (Achoury) Conmaene, (Arlagh?) Tyrone, (Ardstraw or Rathlure) Connor, and Down.

present also many abbots and priors, with a multitude of the inferior clergy: and we are further told that there were likewise in attendance, as was usual in the councils of those times, "kings, dukes, and other distinguished laymen."^{* A. D. 1152.} For those "councils" partook of the nature of parliaments, as much as of Church synods or clerical convocations: the "convocation," properly so called, being in fact a sort of assembly that had no existence in Ireland until some ages after this time.

As to the matters transacted in the assembly at Kells, the distribution of the palls was the business of chief importance. Simony and usury were also condemned, and the payment of tithes enjoined. Arrangements were likewise made for distributing the dioceses of Ireland into four provinces, assigning so many to each archbishopric,[†] and also for reducing the entire number of sees then existing, by suppressing many of the smaller ones on the deaths of the several prelates who then occupied them.[‡]

Dark clouds were now gathering thickly round the horizon of Ireland; and the affairs of the country, so far as its relationship with England and Rome were concerned, were advancing rapidly to a very important crisis. And this crisis, which ended in the subversion of the liberties and in-

Of the matters transacted in this synod.

A gloomy prospect before Ireland at this time.

* *Len. Ib.* and p. 146.

† *Vid. Appx. No. 9.*

‡ *Wilkin. Concil. i. 547. Lond. 1757.*

A.D. 1153.

dependence of the Irish Church and nation, was accelerated by various coincident circumstances, which occurred, about this time, at home and abroad.

Account of
Pope
Adrian IV.
A.D. 1154.

On the 3rd of December, 1154, Nicholas Breckspere, an Englishman, was raised to the papal chair, under the title of Pope Adrian IV. He had been previously a pupil at Paris of an Irishman named Marianus, a monk of the Irish monastery of Ratisbon; and as he remembered, and used to inquire after this his former teacher with much kindness and respect,* even when he was made pope, it was possibly his intercourse with him that first led Adrian to take an interest in Ireland, and made him desire afterwards to bring that island under his own jurisdiction.

Ireland in-
dependent
of England
to the time
of Henry II.

About the same time that Adrian became pope, King Henry II. succeeded to the throne of England. Down to the reign of this monarch the English had not acquired any settled or permanent dominion in Ireland. It is true that our island had felt the power of their arms long before, since Bede tells us† that in A.D. 684, Egfrid, king of Northumberland, sent over an army to ravage the country, which made cruel havoc among the Irish,—“an innocent race of

* *Len. iv. 155.*—The Marianus here mentioned is not to be confounded with Marianus Scotus, of whom above, p. 436.

† *Hist. Ec. iv. 24.*

men, that had ever been most friendly to the English;”—or, as William of Malmesbury calls them in describing this transaction,—“the Irish, an innocent people, of genuine simplicity, who never thought of contriving any mischief.”* At a later period, Edgar, another English king, had occupied a large part of Ireland, including the city of Dublin.† These invasions however were but temporary, and not undertaken apparently with any hope of subjugating the entire island. In such early times indeed, the strength of the English was not sufficiently united for such a work; domestic troubles had weakened their power too much to allow them to think of foreign conquests; and the Picts and Scots, (*i. e.* the Irish) the Saxons, and Danes, had kept them busy in their own country, and afforded them sufficient exercise for their arms; nor was it till the kingdom became consolidated and settled under the Norman princes, that it acquired sufficient strength to encourage the hope of gaining a wider sway, and extending its dominion over other lands.

Henry II., succeeding to the crown in A.D. 1154, appears to have been the first king of England who conceived the idea of adding Ireland to his realm. In order to execute his plans with the better effect, he made application to

A.D. 1154.

Malmesbury's praise of the Irish.

Henry II. gets leave from Pope Adrian to invade Ireland.

* De Gest. Reg. Angl. Lib. I. † Camden's Britannia. p. 731.

A.D. 1155.

The hypo-
critical rea-
sons as-
signed for
this agree-
ment.

Adrian's
bull in
reply.

Ground of
his claim
upon Ire-
land.

Pope Adrian, with whom he was then on friendly terms, requesting him to sanction by his authority the proposed invasion of our country. He represented to him that the Irish were an ignorant and barbarous people, whose country abounded with nurseries of iniquity, and that it was his anxious wish to bring them within the pale of the Catholic Church, and to instruct them in the Christian faith; and on condition of receiving the desired sanction from the pope, he made an agreement that he would pay a yearly tribute into his treasury, of a penny for every house in the conquered territory. All this is stated in the bull which Pope Adrian sent in reply to Henry's application. The same bull informs us of the grounds on which his holiness assumed the right of bestowing upon Henry a title to Ireland, in the following passage,—“Certainly there is no doubt, but that Ireland and all the islands on which Christ the Sun of Righteousness hath shined, and which have received instruction in the Christian faith, do belong of right to St. Peter and the Holy Roman Church.”* It was asserted that the title to the possession of (all the isles of the Roman empire, or, according to Adrian's bull,) all Christian islands was granted to the pope of

* See Appendix, No. xi. where the bull of Adrian is given entire, from Uscher's *Sylloge Ep. Hib.* No. 46.

Rome by the emperor Constantine, who governed in A.D. 325, the greater part of the then known world. But the document called the Grant of Constantine is now admitted by Romanists themselves, to be a "notorious forgery," and even if it were not, it gives the pope no more authority over islands than over the whole continent, nor is it certain that Constantine himself had ever any interest in the kingdom of Ireland.*

However Pope Adrian had more reasons than one for complying with Henry's request, and therefore it was needful for him to bolster up some claim that might justify him in disposing of what was not his own, and for want of a better the forged Grant of Constantine served very well for the time.

A.D. 1153.

Pope Adrian's reasons for granting Henry's request—

Adrian was himself an Englishman; hence one motive for his gratifying King Henry was a love to his native country: (as Cardinal Pole stated in a speech before parliament, A.D. 1554, under Queen Mary :) this made him willingly accede to a request, the tendency of which was to add to the power and dominion of England.

1. Love for England.

Another obvious motive which influenced him, was a desire to extend the supremacy of the Roman see, and to confirm and establish the rising influence and power of that see in Ireland.

2. Hope of establishing the power of Rome in Ireland.

* Usber, Rehn. of A. L. c. xi. and Sylloge, ut sup.—Lan. iv. 160.

A.D. 1155.

In order to effect this end, the issuing of a bull to the Irish bishops, commanding them to receive King Henry for their lord, was a very suitable following up of the advantage gained but three years before in the distribution of the palls.

3. The influence of John of Salisbury in this matter.

John's account of his acquaintance with Pope Adrian :

And in addition to these motives there was another which strongly influenced Adrian to sanction King Henry's undertaking. John of Salisbury, then chaplain to Theobald archbishop of Canterbury, (and afterwards bishop of Chartres,) was a most dear and intimate friend of his, and also a faithful adherent of the English monarch ; and therefore using in favour of the latter the great influence which he possessed with Pope Adrian, this John prevailed upon him to grant to King Henry the desired permission for invading Ireland. John of Salisbury was an eminent writer, and in one of his works published about the time of Adrian's death, he mentions the circumstance here recorded. At the close of the work alluded to, he breaks out into pathetic lamentations for the loss which, in his opinion, the world had just sustained by the decease of the supreme pontiff, and describes at the same time the intimate friendship that had existed between himself and Adrian ; " for although," says he, " Pope Adrian had a mother, and brother of his own, he loved me with more tender affection than he did them ; he used to

confess both in public and private that he valued me beyond all men; such an opinion had he formed of me, that he would take pleasure in unburdening his conscience in my presence, whensoever occasion presented itself; and when he was pope of Rome, it used to be his delight to have me for a guest at his own table, where he would desire, nay compel me, to use the same cup and dish with himself, however I might decline the honour. It was at my request too that he granted and gave Ireland to the illustrious King Henry of England, to be kept in possession by hereditary right, as his letters testify to this day. . . . He sent over with me likewise a gold ring, set with an emerald of the choicest description, as a symbol of investiture, for conveying to the prince the right of governing Ireland; and the said ring has hitherto been ordered to be kept in the archives among the public records of the court.*

A. D. 1155.

and how he obtained from him a grant of Ireland for King Henry

Adrian therefore, for the different reasons here mentioned, readily granted Henry's request, and sent him a commission to seize the island which he coveted; ordering its people to receive him with all respect and honour, and to reverence him as their lord. The transaction is recorded by the eminent Romish writers of the succeeding age, in the following terms—"About

Pope Adrian gives King Henry leave

(according to the old Romish authors.)

* *Johannis Sarristoriensis Metalegicus, Lib. iv. cap. ult.*

A. D. 1155.

to attack the
"beastly"
Irish, and
make them
become good
children of
Rome.

the same time, Henry, King of England, sending solemn ambassadors to Rome, requested of Adrian, (who had been recently made pope, and whose favour he confidently hoped to obtain, as being an Englishman,) that he would license his entering Ireland in a hostile manner, and allow him to subdue that country, and bring back its beastly inhabitants to holding the faith of Christ in a more seemly manner, and induce them to become more dutiful children of the Church of Rome, exterminating the nurseries of iniquity that were to be found in the country. Which request the pope graciously complied with, and sent to the monarch the following letter granting the sanction desired.* Then follows in the original, the bull above mentioned. "King Henry therefore, towards Michaelmas [of this same year 1155] held a parliament in Winchester, in which he treated with his nobles concerning the conquest of Ireland: but because the thing was opposed to the wishes of his mother the empress, [Matilda,] that expedition was put off till another time."†

* Matthew of Westminster, Matthew Paris, Nicholas Trivet, &c., quoted in Usher's *Syllabus*, No. 46, notes. † *ib.*

CHAP. VI.

MISCONDUCT OF DERMOD MAC MOROGH—COMMENCEMENT OF THE
ENGLISH INVASION—SYNOD OF ARMAGH—ARRIVAL OF HENRY II.
IN IRELAND.

THE English invasion of Ireland having been postponed under the circumstances above noticed, it is hard to say how long it might have been deferred, had not unfortunate occurrences taken place among the Irish themselves about this time, which materially facilitated and hastened the threatened expedition against our island. The person whose misconduct was chiefly instrumental in subverting the liberty of his native land, was the famous, or rather infamous, Dermot Mac Murchard, or Mac Morogh, king of Leinster, whose tyrannical, profligate, and inhuman disposition rendered him an object of terror and hatred to almost every one that knew him; and the title of a "beastly prince" which has been applied to him, appears to have been only too well earned, if we may believe the things recorded of him in our annals.*

From the time of the battle of Clontarf Ireland had continued to be distracted, as we have seen, by civil wars and contentions between rival

A. D. 1153.

The English invasion promoted by the prodigate Dermot, king of Leinster.

His abduction of Tiernan O'Ruarc's wife;

* Vid. Lan. iv. 184—191, &c.

A. D. 1153.

and its consequences.

Dermod banished from his kingdom.

claimants of the supreme monarchy, until at length in A.D. 1166, Roderic O'Connor, king of Connaught, (who is also reckoned as the last king of Ireland,) was left without any rival of sufficient power to dispute his claim to this dignity. Now in A.D. 1153 Dermod Mac Morogh had led an army into the territory of Tiernan O'Ruarc, prince of Breffny, a supporter of the O'Connor family, and having seized on the person of his wife, for whom he entertained an unlawful affection, he carried her away with him into Leinster. O'Ruarc being at this time in a distressed and weak situation, in consequence of unfortunate struggles with other enemies, made application for help to Turlogh O'Connor, then king of Ireland, who took vengeance by rescuing the Princess of Breffny, in A.D. 1154, and spreading devastation through Leinster. The princess herself, whose name was Dervorgal, seems to have been implicated in the guilt of the transaction, but is said to have exhibited in her after life tokens of a penitent and pious disposition. Continual wars were carried on for many years subsequently between Dermod and O'Ruarc, until Roderic O'Connor succeeding to the crown of Ireland, commenced such vigorous measures against Dermod as obliged him (in A.D. 1167) to flee from his kingdom, and seek for foreign succours.*

* *Len. iv. 100. Girald. Cambren. Hib. Exp. lib. i. cap. 4.*

Thus fallen and degraded, but still thirsting for revenge, Dermot resolved on seeking the assistance of Henry II., and for this purpose set out for England in 1168, accompanied by sixty followers. But having learned on his arrival at Bristol, that the monarch whom he sought was then in France, he sailed over to that country to wait upon him there: and having obtained an audience, he besought Henry to aid him in the recovery of his kingdom, promising to hold it thenceforth as his vassal, in case he should be restored to the possession of it.* He was led to take this step it would seem, from having heard of Henry's designs upon Ireland, and the favourable manner in which Pope Adrian had received intelligence of his views and encouraged his undertaking. The English king was not however at all favourably circumstanced for granting Dermot's request at the time when it was made to him. For although having obtained so long before, the sanction of the papal bull, he had not as yet been able to take advantage of the permission which it gave him to invade, occupy, and rule over Ireland. Independently of his mother's opposition to the project, other circumstances had also tended to divert his attention from it. Troubles demanding more immediate attention, required all his care: and

A.D. 1168.

applies for
aid to
Henry II.

Henry un-
able to aid
him in per-
son.

* *Id.*

A.D. 1169.

A war with France, and harassing disputes with Thomas à Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, sufficiently engrossed his thoughts; so that he might have deferred, even longer than he did, his expedition to Ireland, had not the subject been in a manner forced upon his attention again, by the matters connected with Dermot's kingdom which we are at present considering. Being therefore too much occupied at the time with his own affairs, to give in person the desired aid, and yet seeing what an important occasion was now offered him for gaining a footing for his power in Ireland, Henry received Dermot most graciously, entered altogether into his plans, and dismissed him with a letter addressed to all his own subjects, "English, Normans, Welsh, and Scots," authorising and encouraging them by all means to assist the king of Leinster in his endeavours.*

gives him a friendly reception and much encouragement.

Dermot engages Strongbow and others in his cause.

Returning to Bristol, Dermot found in England before long, persons willing to take up his cause and aid his arms on satisfactory terms; the first of whom was the celebrated Richard, Earl of Chepstow or Strigul, better known by the name of Strongbow, "the first and principal invader of Ireland," who promised for certain considerations to send over auxiliaries to Dermot in the following spring. Robert Fitz-Ste-

* Giraldus and Lanigan, *ut sup.*

phen and Maurice Fitzgerald, both Normans, and maternal brothers, were afterwards engaged by the hope of ample rewards, to bring over additional forces from Wales in aid of the same cause. Much cheered therefore by the success of his endeavours thus far, Dermot returned to Ireland to wait there for the reception of the invaders whom he had invited into his native country.*

A.D. 1168.

We cannot pretend, nor does it indeed properly form part of our purpose, to give here a detailed account, nor even a very full epitome of the military movements and proceedings of Dermot and his new allies. Suffice it to mention that in May, 1169, Robert Fitz-Stephen, with Hervey of Mountmorres and other associates, and a small equipment of soldiers of different kinds to the number of 360, landed near Bannow, in Wexford, being the first of the Anglo-Normans that made an attempt upon any part of Ireland. The day following, Maurice de Prendergast arrived with additional troops; and shortly after, Maurice Fitzgerald brought with him still further supplies. By means of these forces, Wexford was after a sharp resistance obliged to surrender; and the people of Dublin were soon after brought to submit to Dermot, on condition that he should leave the

First landing of the English adventurers in Bannow. A.D. 1169.

* *ib.* See for the civil transactions here partly recorded, *Leland's History of Ireland*.

A.D. 1169.

government of the city to Hasculph their Danish prince, under fealty to himself.

**Arrival of
Strongbow,
&c.
A.D. 1170.**

In May, 1170, Strongbow, having received from Dermot a pressing application for the fulfilment of his promise, sent over the brave and celebrated Raymond le Gros, with additional knights and archers; and in the course of the same year he himself landed near Waterford on the 23rd of August, with about 200 knights and 1000 other soldiers: and with these, without waiting for Dermot or Raymond, he attacked Waterford, and although twice repulsed, took it by storm on the 25th. Not many hours afterwards Eva, a daughter of Dermot, was according to agreement already made, married to Strongbow, and they were publicly declared heirs to King Dermot. But presently after Strongbow and Dermot were both called off to Dublin, by intelligence that the governor and people of that city had revolted. Owing however to the bravery of some of the English adventurers it was soon taken possession of by their confederate forces.*

**He takes
Waterford:
and is mar-
ried to Eva,
daughter of
King
Dermot.**

**Capture of
Dublin.**

**Laurence
O'Toole's
influence on
this occasion.**

In the account of the siege of Dublin on this occasion, there is brought before our notice as taking an active part in the proceedings, a distinguished prelate, who was one of the most

* *Vid. Lan. iv. 122, Ware's Annals of Ireland, at Henry II., ch. i. &c.*

famous ecclesiastics of that age. This was the celebrated "St. Laurence" O'Toole, archbishop of Dublin, who had succeeded to that see on the death of Gregory, the first archbishop of the place, (which occurred in A.D. 1161,) having been previously abbot of Glendaloch. "Before the taking of the city St. Laurence O'Toole," we are told, "had been negotiating with the besiegers for good terms for his flock, and after their entrance exerted himself as far as he could for their protection;" and among other benefits secured by his means, "he obtained at great risk that the clergy might remain in their situations, and recovered from the pillagers the books and ornaments which had belonged to the churches." Subsequently, moved as it is said by the consideration of the atrocities which the strangers were committing in Ireland, he excited Roderic O'Connor and other Irish princes, (in 1171,) to unite in an effort for their expulsion. But such efforts were ill-devised, and accompanied with little success.*

By the Romish writers of the history of this period, Laurence is described as having been a bright example of true sanctity and religious austerity: in token of which various particulars connected with his mode of life are carefully noticed for our observation, such as his three-

A.D. 1170.

*Sketch of
the life and
character of
this prelate:*

* Lanigan, iv. 194, 196.

A.D. 1179.

fold garb, consisting of the pontifical dress without, the monastic habit beneath, and the haircloth shirt inside next to the skin; his observing silence at the stated hours; attending at the midnight offices in the church; and solemn perambulation of the churchyard or cemetery, accompanied with "chaunting the prayers for the faithful departed;" to which are added his extraordinary fastings, and unbounded charity to the poor. He exhibited in fact all the qualifications needed for gaining him a high rank among the saints of the Romish calendar; and was accordingly canonized by Pope Honorius III., in A.D. 1226, within about half a century after his death. He was a faithful adherent of the Church of Rome, and humbly submissive to the authority of the pope, whose legate he was appointed in A.D. 1179, when he had gone to Rome with five other Irish prelates to assist at the third general council of Lateran. Laurence was it seems the second Irishman who was enrolled in the saintly register by papal authority: St. Malachy having been the first.*

who was the second Irishman canonized by a pope. A.D. 1226.

Statute of the Synod of Clane, A.D. 1162, relative to the School of Armagh.

In A.D. 1162, the year in which Laurence was consecrated archbishop of Dublin, Gelasius the primate held a synod at Clane, in Kildare, which was attended by twenty-six bishops, many abbots, and other clergymen. In this synod

* Vid. Lanigan, iv. 172, seqq.; 179, 243.

among other decrees relating to Church discipline, &c., one was passed (with the unanimous consent of the synod) by which it was enacted that no person should be admitted as a Fear-leghion, i. e. a professor or teacher of theology, in any church of Ireland, unless he had previously studied at the school of Armagh. This decree was well adapted to secure uniformity of doctrine throughout the country.

A. D. 1162.

But a much more remarkable synod was held some years after at Armagh, during the troubles caused by Dermod and the English invaders, of which the following curious account is furnished by the most eminent English annalist of that day, the celebrated Gerald Barry, or according to the title by which he is more generally known, Giraldus Cambrensis. "Hereupon therefore," says this author,* "the entire clergy of Ireland having been convoked together at Armagh, and the subject of the arrival of the strangers into the island having been long handled and deliberated on, the general opinion of all at length agreed upon this conclusion, viz,—that it was for the sins of their people, and particularly for their having made it a constant practice in time past to buy English persons, as well from merchants, as from robbers and pirates, and to reduce them to slavery, that this calamity had

Singular account of a synod of the Irish clergy held at Armagh about this time.
A. D. 1170.

The English invasion regarded as a judgment from God for the sins of the Irish, and especially for their trading in slaves.

* *Hib. Exp. lib. i. cap. 16. Lan. iv. 196.*

A. D. 1170.

befallen them by the sentence of the divine judgment; so as that they themselves also should now in their turn be brought into the condition of slavery by that same nation. For the English people, while their kingdom was still in a state of security, had been accustomed, through a common vice of the nation, to expose their children for sale, and even before they suffered any poverty or hunger, to sell their own sons and relations to the Irish. For which cause it may reasonably be supposed that the buyers had now, as the sellers had some time before,* deserved the yoke of slavery as a punishment for a crime so enormous. It was therefore decreed in the aforesaid council, and publicly enacted with the consent of all the assemblage, that in all parts of the island such English persons as were kept in a state of slavery, should be restored to their original liberty." This account given by Giraldus may be farther illustrated by a canon of an English synod, passed some years before, (at London, under Anselm, in A.D. 1102,) which enacts "that no person shall presume henceforth to carry on under any pretext, that nefarious traffic, by which men used heretofore to be sold in England like brute animals."†

The English
adventurers
recalled
home :

The rising power of Strongbow in Ireland was now beginning to excite the jealousy of Henry

* i. e. in the Norman invasion of England.

† Wilkin's Concil. i. 383.

II., who accordingly in order to check his progress, gave commandment that all the English who had engaged in the expedition, should return home before the following Easter. But Strongbow succeeded in appeasing the wrath of his sovereign, and was allowed to remain with his troops in Ireland; where, by the death of Dermot at Ferns in the following May, A.D. 1171, he was left at the head of the allied Irish and English forces. Dermot, it is said, died of a horrid and unknown disease, and in a state of impenitence, as an object of divine wrath for his many crimes, and for the mischief and bloodshed in which his wickedness had involved his native land.*

A. D. 1170.

but allowed afterwards to remain in Ireland.

Dermot's death.

At length King Henry himself set out for Ireland, and embarking at Pembroke in Wales, he sailed from Milford Haven on Saturday, the 16th of October, A.D. 1171, and arrived on the following day at Crook Haven, near Waterford, with an army consisting of 500 knights, and about 4000 men at arms. His fleet on this occasion was composed of 400 large sized vessels.†

Henry II. sets out for Ireland.
A.D. 1171.

Of his proceedings immediately after his arrival, the following original and interesting account is supplied us in the works of two valuable authors who lived at that period.‡ "On the

Account of the transactions which occurred on his arrival.

* Lanigan iv. 196, 198.

† Ib. and Hoveden *ad an.*

‡ Roger de Hoveden, *Annal. Lond.* 1566, pp. 301, 2. An. 1171. Benedictus Abbas Petrobrugenſis de Vita & Gestis Henrici II. & Ricardi I. Oxon. 1733, pp. 37, seqq. For an account of Hoveden, see the note to p. 462, *sup.* Although an excellent historian, with

A. D. 1171. next day," say they, "after the coming of the king of England to Ireland, namely, on Monday, October the 18th, the festival of St. Luke the Evangelist, he and all his armies proceeded to Waterford, an episcopal city. And there he found William Fitz-Aldelm, his butler, and Robert Fitz-Bernard, and certain others of his own family, whom he had sent on before him from England. And there he stayed for fifteen days, [until there had come to him the kings and nobles of the country.] And there came to him there by his own order, the king of Cork, and the king of Limerick, and the king of Ossory, and the king of Meath, and Reginald of Waterford, and almost all the princes of Ireland, except the king of Connaught, who said that he was of right the lord of all Ireland. [The king of England however could not by any possibility attempt to crush him in war at that wintry season, in consequence of the flooded state of the country, and the rugged mountains, and desert wilds, that lay between them.] Moreover there

Roderic
O'Connor re-
fuses to do
homage to
Henry;

the exception of some few inaccuracies, already referred to, (which are to be attributed in part perhaps to mistakes of printers and copyists,) he is not so original in some respects as the other author here mentioned, viz.—Benedict of Peterborough, from whom, as well as from others, he has taken word for word a considerable part of his Annals. Benedict began to write about A.D. 1170, and carries his history to A.D. 1192. He was a judicious and faithful writer. For more concerning both these authors, see Nicholson's *English Historical Library*. The extract above given is translated from the printed text of Hoveden, except the parts enclosed between brackets, which are taken from the work of Benedict.

came to the king of England in the place above mentioned, all the archbishops, bishops, abbots of all Ireland, and they received him for king and lord of Ireland, swearing fealty to him and his heirs, and the power of reigning over them for ever, and thereupon they gave him their papers, [in the form of deeds with seals attached.] And after the example set them by the clergy, the aforesaid kings and princes of Ireland did in like manner receive Henry king of England for lord and king of Ireland, and became his men, and swore fealty to him, and to his heirs, against all men."

A. D. 1171.

whose authority is however submitted to by the prelates and clergy.

and also by the lay nobles of Ireland.

Such is the account of Henry's arrival in Ireland, and of the circumstances connected with it, furnished by the worthy historians, Benedict of Peterborough, and Roger de Hoveden. They appear however to be inaccurate in saying that *all* the archbishops and bishops of Ireland waited on Henry at Waterford, as it seems that the primate Gelasius, and perhaps also others of the Irish prelates, did not do so:*

Whether all the Irish prelates met Henry at Waterford?

* It is to be regretted that so learned and respectable a writer as Dr. Lanigan was carried away by his prejudices against the English writers of the twelfth century, to insert on this and other circumstances noticed in this part of his history, many unjust comments. The reader of his work must therefore be careful not to attach too much weight to any of his remarks on these old historians, as they are only calculated to mislead. The Doctor's obvious motive was jealousy for the honour of Ireland, and more than just indignation against authors of another country who recorded charges against our ancestors not sufficiently confirmed by Irish testimonies. But there

A. D. 1171.

King Roderic's alleged negotiations with Henry II.

although we may be sure that the members of Henry's household, who were sent over before him to make preparations for his coming, did all in their power to collect the most respectable attendance they could muster, in order to give him the grandest reception that circumstances would admit of. Roderic O'Conor was at first unwilling to imitate the other princes in submitting to the supreme authority of King Henry; but "at length however," as we are told, "he agreed to meet on the borders of his Connaught kingdom, near the Shannon, Hugh de Lacy, and William Fitz-Aldelm, who were empowered by Henry to receive his act of homage, and to treat

is no use in being angry with men who only stated what they believed, and perhaps to a considerable extent had good reason for believing. Since Henry II. was six months in Ireland, his friends must have had some opportunities of knowing the state of affairs here at that time. And one great object of the old monastic historians being to provide, each for his own monastery, the best register of events that could be had, they took from one another whatever suited best their own purpose, and could have little desire or power to pervert or alter the records of *events which occurred in their own times*. It was otherwise of course with the memoirs of departed saints.

"It is a '*foolish lie*,'" says Dr. Lanigan, "to state that *all* the archbishops, bishops, &c., attended Henry at Waterford. For how could all of them have come thither time enough to pay their obsequance to him?" Why not however, when we are distinctly told that some of his own household were sent on before him to make preparations for his reception, and that he waited *until* the prelates came. This latter statement however is taken from Benedict of Peterborough, an author whom, though more ancient and original than Hoveden, Dr. Lanigan was not acquainted with. "Hoveden," says the Doctor, "whether the author of it or not, has this lie, and so has Brompton, the *lying* abbot of Jorval," &c.—*Ec. Hist.* iv. 203. Poor Brompton, however, as well as Hoveden, copied the statement from the excellent and trust-worthy annals of the Abbot Benedict.

of the tribute which he would have to pay. The matter," it is said, "was thus settled, and peace was declared between the two kings."* A. D. 1171.
 But whatever arrangements of the kind alluded to may have been thus made, it seems certain that no settlement satisfactory to the mind of King Henry was concluded during his stay in Ireland, nor till some years after, as will appear more plainly by what follows.

To continue however the account of King Henry's proceedings in Ireland. The next passage in Hoveden's history, after that last quoted, contains a list of the four archbishops of Ireland, and of twenty-eight bishops, their suffragans; †

Pope Alexander III. confirms Henry in the sovereignty of Ireland.

* Lanigan, Ec. Hist. iv. 302. Girald. Camb. *Hib. Exp.* lib. i. cap. 32.

† Here again we have Dr. Lanigan captiously attacking Hoveden's history in a most unworthy way, and calling the list of our bishoprics, as given by him, "a wretched catalogue," (Ec. Hist. ut sup.) because forsooth, some of the names are very "strange and unlike the Irish ones," and because he is "quite incorrect" in making the number of suffragan sees twenty-eight, "when there were at that period not fewer than thirty-four such sees." But surely the Doctor must have known that there are preserved various ancient catalogues of the sees as they stood about that period, some of them Irish, some foreign, and scarcely any two of them agreeing as to the number and names; and no wonder for they were scarcely well settled at that time. More "wretched catalogues" by far might be found in old Roman Provincials, as Lanigan himself well knew, (vid. his Ec. Hist. iv. 246, and the Appendix to Dymmok's tract on Ireland in vol. 2 of *Tracts relating to Ireland*, printed for the Irish Archaeological Society.) That a list of Irish names of places should not be very correctly given, even by an industrious and careful English writer, is any thing but extraordinary. The list however in question is not Hoveden's, but originally given by Benedict of Peterborough, and thence taken by the other. We may observe further that the printed text of this Benedict notices many different readings in the copies from which it

A. D. 1171.

Royal man-
date issued
for conven-
ing the
Synod of
Cashel.

concerning whom we are informed, that "all these, as well archbishops as bishops, received Henry king of England, and his heirs, for their kings and lords for ever; which they also confirmed by their written instruments. And as soon as this had been arranged, the aforesaid king of England sent his ambassadors to the supreme Pontiff Alexander, with a copy of the letter of all the archbishops and bishops, in order to have the kingdom of Ireland confirmed to himself and to his heirs. And such a settlement was accordingly made. For the supreme pontiff did by his apostolic authority confirm that kingdom to him and his heirs, and appointed them to be for ever the kings thereof. Moreover the king, about the feast of St. Leonard, sent Nicholas his chaplain, and Ralph archdeacon of Llandaff, a clerk of his, together with the archbishops and bishops of Ireland, to the city of Cashel, to hold

was taken, some evidently much more correct than those from which they differ. And so after all it may be possible, nay more than probable, that the strangeness of the names in Hoveden and Benedict may have arisen in great part from the errors of transcribers. "Who could understand," says the Doctor, "what were such sees as *Thuensis*," &c. ? Write the word however as it is even in the printed Hoveden, *Thuensis*, and any person will at once perceive that it is only an improper spelling of *Dunensis*, (the correct Latin name of the bishopric of Down,) arising from the copyist having followed the sound of the word, and being thus misled with regard to the orthography. More might be said on this point, but it is needless. For further information about our ancient sees, and the lists of them extant, vid. Appendix No. ix.

a council there for the enactment of ecclesiastical statutes."* A. D. 1171.

King Henry remained at Waterford for fifteen days, that is to the 2nd of November, 1171, as he had arrived in that city on the 18th of the preceding month of October. He then proceeded through Lismore and Cashel to Dublin, "and there he stayed from the feast of St. Martin to the first day of Lent," (*i. e.* from the 11th of November to the 1st of March following.) The sacred season of Christmas he distinguished by unusual festivities, and splendidly entertained such of the Irish princes and nobles as were then in Dublin: the place where he received them being a sort of palace constructed of wicker work, with polished twigs, after the Irish fashion, which he had caused to be erected for himself near the present College Green, as a temporary residence during his stay in that quarter.†

The king gave orders, we are told, for holding the Council of Cashel "about the feast of St. Leonard,"‡ *i. e.* about the sixth of November, which fell in the nine days spent by him on the way between Waterford and Dublin. But it does not seem very clear whether this date refers to the time of his issuing the order, or the time at which he wished the council to be held. Com-

Henry goes to Dublin, and spends his Christmas there hospitably.

Dates of the transactions connected with the Synod of Cashel.

* Hoveden and Benedict, *ut sup.* † *ib.* ‡ Benedict. Ab. *ut sup.*

A. D. 1171.

paring together however the accounts given by the different original authorities, the most probable view of the case appears to be, that Henry wished the council to be held about the sixth of November, and for this purpose despatched his agents from Waterford to go before him with the Irish prelates to Cashel, in order to arrange matters so that the synod might assemble when he himself should be present in Cashel on his way to Dublin. It seems however that the synod in question was not held until early in the following year 1172; probably because it would have been difficult or impossible to have arranged the necessary preliminaries any sooner.*

Henry's proceedings in Ireland interrupted by papal arrangements.

Having remained therefore in the metropolis until Ash Wednesday, he then removed to Wexford, and stayed there until Easter. "He was proposing," at this time, "to go with his army the next following summer to reduce under his

* "Hoveden, amidst other bungling, tells us, that it was held while Henry was still at Waterford, before he went to Dublin. This is truly ridiculous." Such is Dr. Lanigan's comment, (vol. iv. p. 205.) in this place. The "ridiculous bungling" is however not Hoveden's. It is original in the comment. Hoveden states indeed, that Henry, while at Waterford, sent off the prelates to hold the council; and also at the same part of his history, that he sent the episcopal deeds of submission received from these prelates, to Rome, where they were confirmed by the bull of Pope Alexander III. But he surely does not mean to say that the bull was issued while Henry was at Waterford; nor does he one whit more necessarily imply that the council was held during the king's stay in that city. Only he mentions both the council and the issuing of the bull, not in chronological order, but as immediately connected with the matters preliminary to each, which he was then recording.

power the king of Connaught, who refused to come and appear before him, and he would easily have vanquished him, had he not been obliged to set out in such haste for Normandy," * to appear before the pope's legates, the Cardinals Theodinus and Albertus, who came to arrange with him finally the disputes between himself and the pope, connected with the life and murder of the famous Thomas à Becket, archbishop of Canterbury.

A. D. 1172.

Henry's departure from Ireland took place on Easter Monday, (the 17th of April) A.D. 1172. His family had crossed the channel on the preceding day, Easter Sunday, "but the king, through respect for that holy day, would not put to sea while it lasted; but on the morrow set sail, and arrived in Wales near St. David's."† Such was the nature of his expedition to Ireland, such the share which he had personally in the conquest of this island. No battle was fought, no blood was shed, no sword was drawn when he appeared among our countrymen. And he was received by their princes more in the light of a protector and patron, than as their enemy.

His departure homeward. April, A.D. 1172.

Nature of his "Conquest" of Ireland.

There can be no doubt but that among the motives which induced these princes to submit thus readily to King Henry's authority, one that exercised a very considerable influence on

The hope of peace and improvement of the kingdom a motive with the Irish princes for submitting to Henry II.

* Bened. Ab. p. 22.

† Hoved. ad. an.

A. D. 1172.

their minds was the hope of securing something of better order and tranquility in the realm by the aid of his power. This is very plainly asserted by a good old historian, Radulphus de Diceto, dean of London, who flourished under King John, A.D. 1197. He observes * that "when the people of Ireland saw how wholly the mind of the king of England was set upon the promoting and establishing of peace, he being one that neither countenanced evil deeds by indulgent treatment, nor issued hasty sentence of death against any man, summoned by his edict they came to meet him, suing for peace. And as there had been among them no publicly constituted authority, which might refuse to hold forth to them under any circumstances the promise of impunity from the terror of its penalties, having had occasion to grieve so repeatedly for the deaths of their fathers, which occurred in their mutual slaughters, they transferred to him, and conferred on him, their own jurisdiction and authority. The archbishops and bishops observing the very numerous and serious errors of the people entrusted to their care, especially in those rules connected with marriage, which our forefathers are known to have enacted, give promise that they would firmly embrace, and inviolably execute, the principles in regard to this matter which were

* *Vid. Hist. Angl. Scriptores X. per Twysden Lond. 1652. col. 559.*

received and acted on in England. And that both realms might be bound together by similar observances in all points, they all universally, with unanimous consent, common agreement, and like readiness on the part of all, submit themselves to the king's jurisdiction." This author we see represents the lay nobles as influenced to submission by the hope of peace and improvement in the kingdom, and the prelates by the prospect of having their flocks reduced into more satisfactory order, and brought about to adopt a mode of life and practice in matters of religion more accordant with their own views on the subject.

A. D. 1172.

CHAP VII.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SYNOD OF CASHEL—BULL OF POPE ALEXANDER III.—HIS LETTERS ON THE STATE OF IRELAND—SUBMISSION OF MODOEC O'CONOR—DEATH OF STRONGBOW, AND OF LAURENCE O'TOOLE.

THE proceedings which took place in the synod held at Cashel by order of King Henry II., are described with more or less of particularity by the different authors who wrote the annals of the time in which it was held. Giraldus Cambrensis, who lived at that period, gives the most detailed account of the acts passed in it, "in the very words," as he tells us, "in which they were

Account of the proceedings of the Synod of Cashel.
A.D. 1172.

A. D. 1172. originally published." They are prefaced by him with the following observations.*

Henry's
anxiety to
bring the
Church of
Ireland into
conformity
with that of
England.

"While the island was therefore thus silent in the presence of the king, enjoying a tranquil calm, the monarch, warmly influenced by a strong desire to magnify the honour of God's Church, and the worship of Christ, in those parts, summoned a council of the entire clergy of Ireland to meet at Cashel. Where, (after that the enormities and filthy practices of that

* Giraldus Cambrensis is by far the most famous author who wrote on the subject of the Anglo-Norman Conquest of Ireland. He flourished in the reign of Henry II., and his work on the invasion is exceedingly valuable; although it must be confessed that it has some very great faults. It is written in a turgid pompous style, and displays too much flattery of the writer's royal patron, King Henry. Dr. Lanigan of course abuses this author largely. And yet to him he is beholden for the most correct account remaining of the proceedings of the Cashel synod, which accordingly he introduces word for word into his history. The next best account is Hoveden's, which also he has inserted in his work. And in like manner the most correct account of the circumstances immediately connected with King Henry's arrival in Ireland, the day, &c., of his coming, is that given by Hoveden, (or rather Benedict and his follower Hoveden,) which is the authority referred to by Lanigan himself. No Irish writer has given a detailed account of these transactions. And yet Lanigan blames Ledwich for preferring the accounts of English authors concerning the Irish affairs of that day, to those written by the Irish themselves. "Any thing was good enough for him, except Irish documents," says Lanigan. The English however are they who have left us the best records of the matters here treated of.

As an instance of the unfair way in which Lanigan attacks Giraldus, it may be noted, that he accuses him of being "profoundly ignorant of the history of ecclesiastical discipline," because he alleges the non-payment of tithes, or first offerings, as one argument to shew that the Irish were uninformed in the rudiments of the faith. These censures however, uttered by Giraldus, were originally expressed almost in the very same words, by the great St. Bernard. *Vid. sup. p. 462, and Lanigan iv. 262.*

country and people had been inquired into, and enumerated publicly, and also carefully committed to writing under the seal of the bishop of Lismore, the legate, who then ranked in dignity above the rest there present,) he issued several sacred enactments, which are still on record, concerning the marriage contract, the payment of tithes, the honouring of churches with due devotion and constant attendance at them: labouring by every possible means to reduce the state of that Church to the model of the Church of England.”*

A.D. 1172.

After this introduction, Giraldus then proceeds to give the following account of the Synod and its proceeding. “In the year therefore of our Lord’s incarnation, 1172, being the first year in which the most illustrious king of the English, and triumphant conqueror of Ireland, possessed dominion in that island, Christian bishop of Lismore, and legate of the apostolic see, Donatus of Cashel, Laurence of Dublin, and Catholicus of Tuam, archbishops, with their suffragans and episcopal brethren, with abbots also, archbishops, priors, and deans, and many other prelates of the Irish Church, by express order of the triumphant prince, assembled in the city of Cashel and held a council there, for the purpose of advancing the Church’s welfare,

Giraldus’s account of the persons present at the Synod of Cashel.

* Girald. Cambz. Hib. Exp. Par. 1. cc. 33 & 34.

A.D. 1172.

and bringing her condition into a better form. At this council were present, commissioned by the king, the following persons, the venerable Ralph, abbot of Buldewas, Ralph, archdeacon of Llandaff, the chaplain Nicholas, and other clerks and commissioners of our lord the king. And the statutes of the council were subscribed, and confirmed by the authority of the king's highness.

Acts of the
Synod.

1. Relative
to marriage.

I. "In the first place it was enacted, That all the faithful throughout Ireland, desisting from connections with their near relations either by kindred or affinity, shall contract and observe lawful marriages.

2. Concerning the
ordenance of
baptism.

II. "Secondly, That infants shall be catechized [*i. e.* their godfathers should be interrogated*] at the church doors, and baptized in the holy font in the baptismal churches, [*i. e.* in those where baptisms are allowed to take place.]

3. Payment
of tithes
enacted.

III. "Thirdly, That all the faithful of Christ shall pay tithes of their cattle, corn, and other produce, to the church of their own parish.

4. Church
lands and
property
protected
from lay
exactions.

IV. "In the fourth place, That all Church lands, and property connected with them, shall be entirely free from the exactions of all lay persons. And in particular, that no petty kings, nor earls, nor other powerful persons in Ireland, nor their sons and families shall exact victuals

* Collier, Ec. Hist. Book 3, Lan. iv. 218.

and hospitality in the Church demesnes, as has been customary; nor shall they presume henceforth to extort them by force. And that those detestable contributions which are levied four times in the year on the farms of the churches by the neighbouring earls, shall for the future be levied no more.

A. D. 1172.

V. "In the Fifth place, That in case of homicide committed by laymen, whenever they compound with their enemies for the offence, clergymen who are their relatives shall pay no part of the fine, but shall, as they were not concerned in the murder, be exempted also from having to pay any portion of the money.

5. The clergy to pay no part of the fine in case of homicide.

VI. "Sixthly, That all the faithful lying in sickness, shall make their will with becoming solemnity, in the presence of their confessor and neighbours, and shall divide their moveable property, supposing them to have wives and children, into three parts, (debt and servants' wages having been previously deducted,) so as to leave one part for the children, another for the lawful wife, the third for the person's own obsequies. And if it shall happen that they have no children lawfully begotten, let the property be divided into two moieties, between himself and his wife. And if his lawful wife be dead, they should be shared between himself and the children.

6. Rules to be observed by heads of families in making their wills.

A. D. 1172.

7. Concerning burial.

8. The rites &c., of the Irish Church to be brought into conformity with those of England.

The primate Gelasius not present at this synod, and why.

His death.

VII. "Seventhly, That due care be taken of the obsequies of those who die after a good confession, by means of masses, vigils, [or wakes] and decent burial.

"Likewise, That all divine [or spiritual] matters shall for the future in all parts of Ireland, be regulated after the model of Holy Church, according to the observances of the Anglican Church."

This is the whole account of the proceedings of the Synod of Cashel, as recorded by Giraldus. The same author adds immediately after that "the primate of Armagh [*i.e.* Gelasius] was not then present, being hindered by his bodily infirmity and great age, but that afterwards he came to Dublin, and evinced a ready compliance with the king's desires in every particular." Giraldus mentions that he was by the opinion of the lower classes of the people regarded as a person of peculiar sanctity; and he also informs us that it was his practice to take about with him wherever he went, a white cow, whose milk was the only kind of food that he made use of. Gelasius was at this time in his eighty-fifth year; for we are told that he was in his eighty-seventh year in A. D. 1174, in which he died, after an active and laborious incumbency of thirty-eight years.*

* Lanigan iv. 220.

From the account here given (from Giraldus) of the acts passed at the Synod of Cashel, we may form some judgment of the kind of Church reform which Henry II. was minded to introduce into Ireland. Three objects, we may see, were aimed at in those acts. 1. The first, but least important, was the enforcement of more strict regularity and order, according to Church rules, in religious rites, viz.:—those of baptism, holy matrimony, and burial. And to these the first, second, and seventh acts of the synod referred. 2. The second, and most important end aimed at, was the exaltation and enriching of the clergy, with a view, as it seems, of gaining their support for the cause of their new monarch, under whose benign influence such ample provision was made for their comforts. And this end was abundantly promoted by the tenor of the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth enactments. 3. The third object promoted by the synod was the bringing of the Irish Church into closer alliance and more intimate union with the Church of Rome, through the instrumentality of the Church of England. This was the tendency of the (latter clause of the seventh, or as it should rather be reckoned, the) eighth statute of the synod, which enjoined the adoption of the English mode of arranging the various offices and ordinances of the Church, instead of the rules derived from their fore-

A. D. 1172.

General tendency of the Acts passed in this synod, what.

A. D. 1172.

Curious
explanation
of the law
about bap-
tism fur-
nished by an
old writer.

fathers, by which the practice of the Irish in such matters had previously been regulated.*

In illustration of the act relating to baptism, an old English chronicler mentions curious irregularities connected with it, as having prevailed before the Synod of Cashel. "In that council," says the writer alluded to,† "they made a decree, and enjoined by the pope's authority, that children should be baptized in Church in the

* The old English translation of Giraldus Cambrensis, MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, renders the 8th Act of the Cashel Synod in such a way as to make it appear to refer to the government and discipline, rather than to the ritual of the Church. In connection with this, a remark on the subject by the present Archdeacon (Stopford) of Meath, is worth noticing here. "It has been supposed," he observes, "that the object of this canon was to establish the Roman ritual—strangely enough, seeing that in the English Church at that time every diocese was entitled to have its own liturgy:—*Consuetudo Ecclesie servanda sit in judiciis . . . item in sacris . . . non tamen in divinis officiis: nam in eis qualibet Ecclesia servat suam consuetudinem.*"—Lyndwood, p. 102, note f. (Vid. the *Irish Ecclesiastical Journal* for January, 1846, p. 295.) It is certain however, that at the period of the Synod of Cashel strenuous exertions were made use of to abolish the various older forms of services, and produce uniformity by introducing "one Roman office." Further, whatever differences may have existed in different dioceses, yet the Order of Service (*secundum usum Sarum*) composed by Osmund, bishop of Salisbury, A.D. 1078—1069, was that generally adopted throughout the British isles in the ages preceding the Reformation. It appears to have been known in Ireland as the "English Order of Divine Service," so called, not from the language in which it was composed, for it was of course in Latin, but from the country where it had been drawn up. See the notice of the circumstances connected with the foundation of the Collegiate Church of Galway, given in Book vi. chap. i. *infra*. On the whole there can be no reasonable doubt but that it was intended by the Cashel Act to abolish the peculiarities of the old Irish rites and services, and replace them by the general use of Roman or English forms.

† Joh. Bromton. an. 1171.

name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and they enjoined that this should be performed by the priests. For before this it was customary in different parts of Ireland, as soon as the child was born, for the father, or any one else, to plunge it thrice in water, or in milk, if it were the child of a rich person; and afterwards they were in the habit of throwing out that water or milk in their sewers or other common places." The truth of this statement has however been, by a late writer, strenuously denied.*

A. D. 1172.

His charge against the Irish denied.

The law enforcing the payment of tithes had been partly anticipated in the Council of Kells, twenty years previously; and even several centuries before that time in the most ancient canons of the Irish Church which are extant.† But the existing laws on the subject appear to have been not much attended to, and the custom of paying tithes had prevailed very little in Ireland before the arrival of the English; "very many," says an old author, "never paid tithes, nor knew whether they ought to be paid:‡ and

The payment of tithes much neglected in Ireland before this time.

* Lanigan (iv. 211, 216) speaks of Bromton's statement here quoted, as "an atrocious lie, base stuff," &c.: yet it seems hard to think that the story was without any true foundation. Hoveden appears to allude to the same thing in his mode of mentioning the Cashel decree about baptism; for he says it was ordered that this rite should be "in clean water," and "that it should be done by the priests."

† Martene, *Thesaur. Nov. Anecd.* Tom. 4. col. 18; and Villanova's *Opp. S. Patrick*.

‡ Joh. Bromton, ut sup. *Lan.* iv. 294.

A. D. 1172.

some even go so far as to deny that the practice had obtained at all in the country until it was introduced by English influence.

Note on the eighth canon of the Cashel Synod.

Whether the enactments of this synod were obeyed in Ireland.

The eighth canon of the Synod of Cashel is the earliest enactment upon record in our branch of the Church, containing any sort of general order for promoting uniformity of any kind in divine offices throughout the island, and it is of course the first in which it was decreed that the offices and practices of the Church in Ireland should be made to agree with those of the Church of England. It has been stated however, though perhaps incautiously, that this and the other decrees of the same synod "were disregarded by the Irish clergy and people, who looked only to their own ecclesiastical rules, as if the Synod of Cashel had never been held."* This may have been the case in some parts; for it is only natural to suppose that the new decrees, originating so far as they did in English influence, would be unpopular with a large portion of a people so much attached to old habits, and to the customs of their own country, as the Irish have always been. But yet it is hard to conceive, that enacted as those decrees were by a synod comprehending among its members the archbishops and other prelates of three at least of the four provinces of Ireland, they were, or could have been, alto-

* *Lanigan* iv. 317.

gether neglected. And it appears much more natural and reasonable to believe that under the influence of the authorities which had introduced them, they came by degrees, however slowly, to regulate the religious offices and practices of the people generally throughout the country.

A. D. 1172.

As to the general character of the charges brought against the Irish Christians of the twelfth century by the English and Romish writers of that age, we may see from the preceding pages that some of them were trivial, others more serious, if true. It seems exceedingly probable that there was much in the state of the Irish Church at that day which might afford to the writers referred to, an occasion for deserved censure. But it seems also likely that an unhappy feeling of prejudice against the Irish led these writers in some instances to adopt, on uncertain rumour and hearsay, opinions about Ireland, injurious to the character of its people, and not always sufficiently warranted by facts.*

General view of the charges brought against the Irish Church of this period.

Further light will be thrown on the nature of these charges as we proceed with this part of

Curious abuses connected with

* Still it is impossible to deny that in the ages preceding the invasion an awful extent of disorder, prodigacy, and barbarism, had overspread this country. The unanimous and consistent testimony of the many respectable ancient writers who have borne witness to this fact, (S. Bernard, Anselm, Lanfranc, Giraldus, Hoveden, Benedict, Bromton, the prelates in the Synod of Cashel, &c., &c.) can neither be contradicted nor evaded.—Vid. Lingard, *Hist. Eccl. Lond.* 1819, vol. 2. p. 97.

A. D. 1172.
the obser-
vance of
Easter,
charged on
the northern
Irish.

our narrative. Meanwhile in connection with them, we may notice here a very curious abuse relating to the observance of Easter, which is said to have prevailed before the Conquest in Armagh and other parts of Ulster. "The people of this province," says William of Newburgh, "are described as having been heretofore superstitious beyond all the inhabitants of Ireland in their mode of observing Easter. For as I have been informed by a certain venerable bishop of that nation, they used to suppose that they did service to God in collecting together all the year round, by plunder and robbery, provisions to be consumed on the most profuse entertainments, at the time of the Easter festival, as if in honour of the Lord's resurrection. And there was a sharp contention among them, lest one should be surpassed by another in these absurdly extravagant preparations of dishes."* This abuse however, our author informs us, was discontinued after the Invasion.

Pope Alex-
ander III.,
confirms the
bull of
Adrian to
King Henry.

To return to the Synod of Cashel. Some time after it had been held, King Henry, as we are informed, sent to Rome, to Pope Alexander III., (who succeeded to Adrian in A.D. 1159,) a copy of the decrees that had been passed in it, together with the letter that had been drawn up

* Gull. Neubr. de Reb. Angl. Par. 1610, pp. 302, 303. This author was born A.D. 1136, and flourished to A.D. 1198.

there, relative to the "enormities," &c., then practised in Ireland.* He also sent to the same pope a copy of the deeds of submission to himself, as king and lord of the newly-acquired island, which he had received from its archbishops and bishops. And the pontiff "by his apostolic authority confirmed to him and to his heirs the kingdom of Ireland, according to the form of the deeds of the archbishops and bishops of Ireland." The confirmatory bull issued on this occasion by Pope Alexander, (which is still extant, †) was soon afterwards publicly read in Ireland, at an episcopal synod convened for the purpose, at which was also read the bull of Pope

A. D. 1172.

The bulls of both popes are published in Ireland.

A. D. 1175 ?

* The transmission to Rome of the decrees passed at Cashel is stated to have taken place, by Lanigan, iv. 217, though in a rather guarded way. I cannot find such a fact mentioned in the ancient authorities, and I am therefore inclined to think that Lanigan must have taken it from a misconception as to Hoveden's meaning in the place in question.

As to the sending to Rome of the letter about the enormities and lewd practices of Ireland, although the circumstance be not mentioned in Hoveden's brief account, yet there can be no doubt to any reasonable mind that such letter did go, as Giraldus states. Lanigan indeed speaks of the whole thing, even to the very penning of this letter, as a fabrication, or in his own peculiar style, "a silly tale of a lying faction," (iv. 205.) He admits however that Henry did send to Rome (as may be concluded, according to him, from the brief of Alexander III.) "a certain account of Irish practices, such as might induce the pope to favour his views," (ib. 217.) But as he gives no satisfactory reason for denying that such a letter as that in question was drawn up at Cashel and forwarded to Rome, his statement must go for nothing, and be regarded only as one instance of many in which his peculiar system has made it expedient for him to quarrel with the facts of history, as recorded by the best authors.

† Vid. Appx. No. xii.

A.D. 1172.

Giraldus's
account of
these pro-
ceedings, as
given in the
old English
translation
of his work.

Adrian, issued some years before. And thus both these important documents at length received, in a public and authoritative manner, the regular and solemn sanction of the chief governors of the Irish Church.

The following original account of the transactions here recorded, (taken from the old English version of Giraldus Cambrensis,*) appears worthy of being set before the reader. "Thegh y^e kynge" saith our author, "wer wel longe yn grete miserye and grete anguyshe thregh hys sonnes as hyt ys to fore ytold natheles amonge other nedes he ne foryet nat hys Irland he lete take the lettres that was ymade yn the Consaylle of Casshele of the unclene lyf and the horyble synnes that the folk of Irland lyvedon yn otherwyse than crysten men oght lyven and the lettres al ensealed as thay wer he sent by his messagers to the court of Rome to the Pope Alyx-sander that than was and thar he dydde the purchase that by auctoryte of the pope and by hys consent was to hym y granted the lord-

* MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, E. 2, 31; and again F. 4, 4. These two MSS., which I have used in making the above extract, appear, as stated in the text, to have been penned in the beginning of the sixteenth century. One is however much more antiquated in style and expressions than the other, and there are many different readings observable between both in every page. They form part of the Usher Collection of MSS. I had thought of adding an interpretation of the old expressions used in this passage, but for want of space must leave that as an exercise for the reader. The general meaning, however, will be plain enough, even to persons of very moderate information, from the preceding narrative.

shype of the land and y^e land folke that crysten A.D. 1172.
shold be and al clene was out of ryght reule of
crystendome and ryght byleve to bryngen yn to
ryght lawe of holy Chyrch yn the maner of Eng-
land That pryvelege forth wyth an other that
rather was purchased of y^e Pope Adrian that
was to fore Alexander was y sent over yn to
Irlande by Nychole pryour of Walyngeford and
Wyllyam Aldelmes sone and was aconsaylle of
al the clergye of Irlande y gaddered to gyddre
at Waterford ther the pryveleges y shewed and
y radde solempnelyth to fore ham and y granted
heghly by consentement of al the comynes The
forme of thay pryveleges as thay wer endyted yn
the court of Rome a latyne ne myght I nat
comly setten in Englyshe and y^efore I hyt leve
bot the meste streynth ys thys whan the pope
Adryan hadde herd opynly the evyle lyf and
y^e synfule that y^e folk of Irland ladden wors
than wyld bestes and out of constytucione of
holy Chyrche and ryght byleve he granted the
kyng that he shold yn to Irland wend for to
addresse and sprede y^e terrenes of holy Chyrch
for to wythstond and lete the rayne of syn for
to amend the lyther thewes and sette ye good
for to multiply relygyon of crystendome so that
it war wyrshyp to God and helth to the soules
and ye folke of y^e londe manshyply him shold
up take and worthly as lorde save ryghtes of

A.D. 1172.

holy Chyrche unwemed and to Seynt Petyr and y^r holy modyr chyrche of Rome of every hous a pany to rent ayer yn Irland as yn England Thys pryvelege was y purchased of y^r Pope Adryan and a clerk hyt purchased that sette Jhoñ of Salusbury and the pope by the same clerk sent to the kynge a gulden rynge yn name of seysyne of the lond the pope Alexandre next after him conferred that same yift," &c.

Observation on the kind of information about Ireland and the Irish supplied to the English people at this time.

At what time the English version of Giraldus from which the above extract is taken, was first given to the public, it seems not easy to determine: but the manuscript from which the passage is here copied, was written sometime about the early part of the sixteenth century, *i.e.* a few years after A.D. 1500. This English version was, we may suppose, the most popular form in which the English people generally, and in particular such of them as did not understand the Latin tongue, were supplied with information relative to the conquest of Ireland by their own princes, and the character of the Irish people, civil, moral, and religious, before the Invasion. They were given thus to understand, as we see from the passage here quoted, that as to civility and morals, the old Irish were in a state of the lowest degradation, leading an "uncleane and evyle lyf," defiled with "horyble synnes," so that they were even "wors than wyld bestes:" and as for their

doctrine and discipline, they were nothing better in respect of these, being "clene out of ryght reule of crystendome and ryght byleve," heeding not the "ryght lawe of holy Chyrch," but entirely out of her "constytucione;" all which latter expressions mean, that however the leaven of Romish influence may have spread through the prelates and many of the clergy of Ireland before the Invasion, the general body of the inhabitants of the country had not been as yet imbued, in any satisfactory degree, with a spirit of respectful deference to the Church of Rome, love for her doctrines and practices, or obedience to her canon law.

The annalists of the times at present under our notice do not explicitly inform us whether the deeds of submission, given to King Henry by the Irish prelates, were conveyed to Rome by the same hands that brought thither the official letter on the state of Ireland from the Synod of Cashel; yet their expressions appear to intimate that they were sent at different times; the former, while Henry was still at Waterford, or immediately after; the other of course at some subsequent period after the transactions at Cashel had been concluded. Be that however as it may, it is generally understood that the brief which Alexander addressed to Henry on receipt of the former communication, (conveying the deeds of

A.D. 1172.

Note on the communications of Henry II. to Pope Alexander, and his bull in reply.

A. D. 1172.

submission of the prelates,) was the well known one originally published by Giraldus Cambrensis, and at a later period by Archbishop Ussher, which is also given to the reader in another part of the present work.*

A certain degree of secrecy observable in the proceedings at Cashel.

The letter drawn up in the Synod of Cashel relative to "the filthy lewdness" of the people of Ireland, would undoubtedly be a most interesting document to study, could we possibly obtain a sight of its contents. But unfortunately it has never been published, and is probably not extant. Indeed with regard not only to it, but all the proceedings connected with it, there seems observable a kind of intriguing secrecy

* Vid. Appendix No. xii. It is very curious to observe that this bull of Pope Alexander, although originally published by Giraldus, is not now to be found in the printed copies of his work on the Conquest of Ireland. It was however extracted from that work by the old historian John Ross, or Rous, of Warwick, who inserted it in his *Historia Regum Angliæ*, (Oxon. 1716, p. 173,) where it may still be seen. But the printed text of Giraldus is evidently corrupt at the place in question, as has been remarked by Archbishop Ussher in his *Sylloge, Recensio* ad No. 47, p. 153, (Dubl. 1632.) Ussher in the same place gives the Latin text as corrected by himself from two MSS. copies of Giraldus, which I doubt not were those two already mentioned as contained in the MS. Library, Trinity College, Dublin. Vid. p. 526 sup. In the text as corrected from those MSS., the sense and order is certainly restored; but the bull of Alexander is still wanting, as the translator expressed his inability to give the document in English, and contented himself by inserting the purport of it. The deficiency is however supplied by John Ross in the place referred to. Could Ross have given a wrong reference to the work from which he took the said bull? Or does the *Chronicon Giraldi Cambrensis* from which he quotes, necessarily imply the *Hibernica Expugnatio* (lib. 2. cap. 6.) as understood by Ussher in the passage referred to.—Vid. *Len.* iv. 222.

little indicative of honest integrity of purpose. A. D. 1172.
 Considering however all the circumstances of the case, and the characters of those who were some of the chief actors in them, we need not wonder at the appearance of a feature so natural among them. Neither the document in question, nor the general proceedings of the synod, were things very convenient to be submitted, at that time, to the notice of the Irish public. Had *they* been made acquainted with a specific statement of their "horyble sinnes," very undesirable consequences might have resulted to interfere with the royal and papal plans for the settlement of Ireland, with the negotiations of the English king and the Irish prelates. And had they been allowed a voice in the resolutions framed at Cashel, they would no doubt have raised a troublesome and formidable resistance against measures that encroached so extensively on their ancient liberties, as did those that were there enacted. And therefore it was that on this occasion, contrary to the old constitution of the "great councils" of Ireland, the laity were for the first time excluded from a share in deliberations in which they had a special concern. If any laymen were present at the Synod of Cashel, they must have been only some of the "commissioners of our lord the king;" whereas in earlier times, from the most ancient period of Irish Church his-

The Irish laity excluded from the synod,

contrary to the usual practice in such cases.

A. D. 1172.

tory, down to the Invasion, the secular princes of the country had always co-operated with her ecclesiastical rulers in proceedings of this kind; kings, dukes, and other illustrious laymen arranging in concert with bishops, abbots, and other prelates, matters pertaining to the ecclesiastical discipline as well as the civil affairs of the Irish people.* And even at a later period, subsequently to the Invasion, the same ancient form of the great council or parliament was still preserved, and still exercised in some degree its original authority and privileges.

Account of
three curious
epistles
of Pope
Alexander
III. written
on the State
of Ireland at
this time.

Not to dwell however here on this point, it is interesting to observe, that although we have not a copy of the letter drawn up at Cashel about the state of Ireland, yet we have still remaining copies of three very curious letters of Pope Alexander, written all on the same day, and immediately after the receipt of the above-mentioned epistle. These letters are dated the 20th of September, and although the year is not mentioned, it must have been A.D. 1172, in which the Synod of Cashel was held. They are ad-

* Vid. sup. p. 445. The MS. E. 2, 10, in the MS. Library of Trinity College, Dublin, contains various ancient Irish annals which state the same fact: mentioning that in the council held at "*Mell*," in A.D. 1152, under Christian, the pope's legate, there were present bishops, abbots, kings, dukes, and nobles (*maiores natu*) of Ireland. In one place where this entry occurs, a note in Ussher's handwriting marks as the original authority for it, "the ancient records of the Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity, Dublin."

dressed to the prelates of Ireland, to Henry II., A. D. 1172. and to the Irish nobles, respectively; and they throw considerable light on the papal policy of that day towards Ireland, as well as upon the general views of the different parties in whose hands the destiny of our country was then, humanly speaking, placed. The matter of each is prudently selected in such a way as to conciliate the party to whom it was addressed, and at the same time to suggest to that party such considerations as might prove useful for promoting the pope's designs in reference to the country. This will be better understood by referring briefly to the contents of each one of these important documents.*

* These extraordinary compositions of Pope Alexander have been preserved in the *Liber Niger Scaccarii*, or "Little Black Book of the Exchequer of England, belonging to the office of the King's Remembrancer," from which they were copied for Archbishop Usher, and are still to be seen, superscribed in his handwriting, in the MS. E. 3. 8. fol. 163, of the Manuscript Library of Trinity College, Dublin. They were subsequently printed in that splendid and important collection, the new Edition of Rymer's *Fœdera*, Lond. 1816. Clark. and Holbrooke, tom. i. p. 48. How such important documents have come to be so strangely neglected, it is not easy to tell. Yet neither Giraldus Cambrensis, nor Benedict of Peterborough, nor any of the authors of the subsequent age, have any mention of them. It would seem that it was not considered desirable at first to publish them, and that they were thus allowed to slumber in obscurity. Why they were not given in Usher's *Sylloge* it is hard to say, unless the reason be, that the copies of them did not come under the observation of that author until the *Sylloge* was already published. For the letters in full, vid. Appendix, Nos. xiii. xiv. xv.

Pope Alexander's letters relating to Ireland appear to have been destined unfortunately to meet with an undeserved obscurity. In a former note we had just observed how the important brief confirming

A. D. 1172.

Nature of
the one
which was
addressed to
the bishops
of Ireland.

In the first—which is addressed “to the venerable brethren, Christian, bishop of Lismore, legate of the apostolic see, Gelasius, archbishop of Armagh,” and the other archbishops and bishops of Ireland—the pope mentions to them that he had learned from their letter and from other sources, how shockingly the people of Ireland were overrun with vices, “setting at nought the fear of God, and the influence of the Christian religion.” He further tells them that he is heartily glad and exceedingly thankful to God for granting such a noble victory and triumph to

Adrian's bull was rescued from perishing by the instrumentality of John Rose of Warwick. Besides this brief however, and the three letters now brought before the reader's notice, there is a *fifth* epistle of the same pope, relating to Irish affairs, still extant, but involved in great mystery. It seems to have fallen by some mistake among a collection of letters, by popes and others, relating to *French* affairs, belonging to the Library of the Canons Regular of St. Victor, Paris, whereby it came to be published, with the rest of that collection, in Duchesne's *Histories Francorum Scriptores*, (tom. 4. p. 657, a. b. Lut. Par. 1641, Ep. ccliv.; vid. also p. 557 lb.) and thence in the Concilia of Lobbe and Cossart, (tom. x. col. 1357,) and Hardouin.

This last epistle of Pope Alexander is curious and worth inspection. It is entitled—“Concerning the holding of a Council there,” *i. e.* in Ireland, it being addressed “To the illustrious king of the Irish.” This king must have been Roderic O'Conor. But it is not so easy to explain various other points alluded to in the said epistle; as it is penned in a style of obscurity that can hardly be accounted for except on the supposition that it was intentional; the pope hinting throughout at various circumstances, apparently of considerable importance, of which our writers have told us nothing—such as a council held in Ireland by authority of the king, and by the pope's subdeacon O.; an embassy of the abbot of Mellifont to Rome, with a letter from the Irish king to the pope, &c. This letter of Alexander's being rather rare, is given in the Appendix; but as I have been able to throw no light on it, I have thought it useless to introduce any mention of it in the text. See Appendix No. xvi.

his dearly beloved son in Christ, the illustrious king of England; a prince who, "touched to the heart by a divinely inspired influence," was led to undertake the subjection of the people of Ireland, a people "barbarous, uncouth, undisciplined, untamed, ignorant of the law of God," and defiled by "abominable lewdness." But he hopes that by the power of Henry, and their co-operation, a reform, of which some symptoms were already discernable, would shortly be introduced into the country. And he therefore urges them to be very zealous in supporting a monarch who was so "magnificent a personage, and so truly devout a son of the Church," and that they should assist him to the best of their power in retaining possession of the country, and adopting measures for resisting the prevalence of crime: and also that if any of the kings, princes, or other people of the country, should attempt to act in opposition to the oath of fealty they had made to King Henry, they, the bishops of the Church, were first to admonish him concerning his offence, and then, if their admonition were unheeded, to visit him with the terrors of ecclesiastical censures. Finally, at the close, the prudent pontiff suggests to them a cogent motive to induce them heartily to co-operate in this cause. Be sure, says he, that you "execute our commands with diligence and earnestness, that

A. D. 1172.

Pope Alexander's opinion of the Irish and of the Conquest.

He commands the prelates to support Henry II. against all Irish adversaries.

A. D. 1172.

Henry's
grant of the
tithes sug-
gested as a
motive for
gratitude.

Pope Alex-
ander's epis-
tle to King
Henry on
the same
occasion.

as the aforesaid king, like a good Catholic and truly Christian prince, is stated to have paid to us a pious and benign attention in restoring you as well the tithes, as the other ecclesiastical dues, so you likewise may yourselves firmly maintain, and as far as in you lies, procure that others shall maintain, whatever privileges appertain to the king's dignity." That is—He has provided you with a maintenance; it was we that recommended the measure; forget not therefore your obligations and duty to us both.

The letter to King Henry is somewhat longer, but composed in a somewhat similar style, with such alterations as were suitable for adapting it to the character of the party now addressed. It is chiefly remarkable for three things; first, extravagant flattery of the vain monarch, intermixed with remarks about religion, framed in a hypocritical and canting strain of affected piety; secondly, abuse of the Irish people, with observations more in detail concerning their ungodly practices; and thirdly, entreaties that the king would exert his utmost power for promoting and maintaining the influence of the Church of Rome in Ireland. It is difficult out of a letter so pithy and full of meaning to select any particular passages from among the rest as illustrations of the whole. Yet it may be useful to notice here a few expressions bearing on each of the points alluded to.

First then, Pope Alexander compliments the monarch on the "wonderful and magnificent triumph he had obtained over a kingdom which the Roman princes, the conquerors of the world, had in their days left unattacked, as being inaccessible to their arms;" and he attributes the origin of his majesty's invasion of Ireland to "the inspiration of the divine clemency of Him from whom every good proceeds, and who disposes of all the acts and wills of His faithful people, according to His own good purpose, for their salvation. "*Secondly*, he regards the Conquest as a providential arrangement of the Almighty, intended as a means for bringing about the reformation of the wretched and barbarous people of Ireland, "who had shewn a disregard for the fear of God, and were gone astray into all sorts of vices, casting off the restraints of the Christian religion and of virtue, and destroying one another with mutual slaughter." These and other particulars concerning the heathenish state of Ireland, Pope Alexander says he had learned partly from the letter addressed to him from Cashel, by Christian of Lismore, &c., and partly from conversation with that faithful servant of King Henry, Ralph, archdeacon of Llandaff, who having been himself in Ireland, was no doubt able to communicate to his employers much valuable information as to the state of the coun-

A. D. 1172.

Specimens
of its con-
tents.The pope
imagines
that it was
divine insp-
ration that
led Henry
to attack
Ireland, for
the civilisa-
tion of its
barbarous
people.

A. D. 1172.

The Irish
accused of
incestuous
marriages,
eating meat
in Lent, &c.

Pope Alex-
ander ex-
presses his
belief that
Henry II.
invaded Ire-
land to gain
pardon for
his sins.

try. The pope further observes that he had been informed of the abuses connected with marriage that prevailed in this country; how the people thought it no shame to marry their own stepmothers, or a brother's wife while he was still living, or two sisters together, &c. "And they all in general," he adds, "eat meat in Lent, and pay no tithes, and show none of that reverence which they ought for God's holy churches, or for ecclesiastical persons." *Lastly*, the pontiff urges upon the king the necessity of applying a remedy for all these disorders; and in particular that he should use his influence to introduce the Romish Church system into the country. "We believe," says he, "that you have undertaken this laborious expedition against that people as a means of obtaining the pardon of your sins. Rouse your mind therefore to still more active exertion in this cause, in order to win them back to respect for the Christian religion, that for the promoting of their salvation you may be counted worthy to receive the crown everlasting. And as your highness's excellency is aware that the Roman Church has by right an authority over islands different from what she possesses over the main land and continent; *having therefore such a confident hope in the fervour of your devotion, as to believe it would be your desire not only to conserve, but also to*

*extend the privileges of the said Church, and to establish her jurisdiction, as you are in duty bound, WHERE SHE HAS NONE AT PRESENT; we ask and earnestly urge your highness to study diligently to preserve to us in the aforesaid land the rights of St. Peter; AND EVEN IF THE SAID CHURCH HAVE NO SUCH JURISDICTION THERE, that your highness should assign and appoint it for her. That so we may be in duty bound to return abundant thanks to your royal eminence, and you may appear as presenting to God an offering of the first-fruits of your glory and triumph.**

A. D. 1172.

The same pope confesses his ignorance as to whether the Church of Rome had any jurisdiction in Ireland.

The third letter of Pope Alexander on this occasion, addressed to the kings, princes, and nobles of Ireland, is much shorter; the pope having probably, for many reasons, less to say to them, and there being less occasion to congratulate them upon any benefits likely to accrue to them from the changes then in progress. He tells them however how happy he had been to

Nature of this pope's letter to the Irish nobles on the same occasion.

* Clearly as this letter shows that the writer was unconscious of his authority being recognised in Ireland, yet the unscrupulous Lingard, who was well acquainted with this said letter, could assert that "though the moderns tell us they (i.e. the old Irish) did not admit the supremacy of the popes, no such information is contained in any ancient writer."—Hist. of Engl. vol. 2, p. 99. Note. Lingard however took good care to suppress all notice of the passages above adduced bearing on the pope's supremacy, while he mentions expressly the testimony of these papal epistles to the barbarism of the Irish; hypocritically adding, that "*truth, the first duty of the historian*, had compelled him to notice the statements made by Pope Alexander in regard to the latter point."!—Note, p. 106, lb.

A. D. 1172. learn that they had wisely submitted to such a potent and magnificent king as their sovereign lord; a circumstance that promised their country, as he tells them, much greater peace, tranquility, and improvement. In fine, he exhorts them to be good subjects of King Henry, and to observe carefully the fealty and allegiance which they had promised upon oath to that prince.

How the notion of papal supremacy first crept into Ireland,

gradually and un-
aware, and
not by the
authority of
any regular
Church law.

It is proper to observe here, that although the authority of the Church of Rome over Irish Christians, once so strenuously resisted by the people of this country, had now come to be generally submitted to; yet this change had not taken place by means of any canonical enactment or law introduced into the Irish Church. The notion of the pope's primacy and supremacy (by divine right) over Ireland, was now very generally received, among the prelates, at least, of this island; but it had crept in privily and unawares, until it had gradually insinuated itself into the popular creed, thus gaining ground and developing itself in the common way of erroneous and false opinions. No regular act of the Irish Church marks the date of its first admission; no formal decree of the ecclesiastical government had sanctioned its introduction; no statute relative to it was passed either at Cashel, or at any preceding convention of the Irish prelates. In short, the recognition of papal supremacy by the

Irish Church of the twelfth century consisted merely in this, that at the synod of Kells in A.D. 1151, four palls from Rome were distributed to the four Irish archbishops, (*i. e.* two already existing, and two then constituted by the same authority which bestowed the honour of the palls,) and that further, legates from Rome were allowed to exercise their authority in Ireland, the first three being Gillebert, Malachy, and Christian of Lismore. The authority of the Roman see thus recognised by the Irish clergy was no doubt considerable; but still its extent was vague and indefinite, and the limits which were to regulate its influence as yet probably unascertained; so that even they by whose tacit sufferance, or more obsequious compliance it was first introduced among us, had, we may well suppose, little idea of the nature of the yoke which they were helping to bind upon their country, and entail upon its ill-fated inhabitants who should come after them.

A. D. 1172.

The extent of the pope's authority over Ireland at first vague and indefinite.

Abuses in the Irish Church of the twelfth century there undoubtedly were, and corruptions that unquestionably called for reform. Very unsatisfactory however was the view of these evils and of their best cure, which was taken by those who had the administration of our Church affairs in those times. According to their opinion the best general remedy for all existing disorders

The remedy proposed for Irish disorders at this time inadequate and unsatisfactory.

A. D. 1172. was to bring every thing to as near an agreement as possible with England and Rome; and the tendency of the enactments framed was therefore to abolish, as far as they were complied with, the old usages and characteristic distinctions of the Irish Church. Little improvement however could be expected when the standard of reformation proposed was, not the primitive Church in its days of apostolic holiness and simplicity, walking according to the perfect and only infallible rule of the Word of God, but the degenerate and corrupt form of Christianity then prevalent in other parts of Europe.

Whether the issuing of Adrian's bull was a secret in Ireland for twenty years.

The reading of the bulls of Adrian and Alexander at Waterford, appears to have been the first publication of them which took place in Ireland, although the former of them had been obtained by the English monarch nearly twenty years before. It has indeed been supposed by some that Henry made a secret of his dealings with those pontiffs, and that nothing was known of their bulls in this country until they were publicly read in the episcopal synod at Waterford.* This however is not stated by any

* See p. 523, *sup.* Speaking of Adrian's bull, Dr. Lanigan observes, that "had any knowledge of it transpired in Ireland, it would undoubtedly have been mentioned in the synods that were held not long after it was issued, and particularly in the great one of Mellifont of the year 1157."—(*Ec. Hist.* iv. 164.) That synod was held however, as the Doctor himself observes, (p. 167) "for the more object of consecrating

ancient writer, and it seems to be an opinion founded on no sufficient authority. It appears much more reasonable to believe that those papal documents were received and known in Ireland, and produced, in all probability, an important and extensive influence long before they had received the regular sanction of a solemn and public recital before an assembled synod of the Irish Church.

A. D. 1175.

The conduct of the two successive popes, Adrian and Alexander, in reference to these

Adrian and
Alexander
censured
even by
Romanists.

a church," and why then should it of necessity have noticed the bull of Adrian. The Irish prelates were not then called upon to confirm that bull, and they had no inclination to resist or oppose it, so that there was no particular necessity for bringing the matter forward, especially since Henry had given up for the present at that time his meditated expedition against Ireland.

Moreover, it would surely be strange that a papal bull, so immediately connected with a matter that had been publicly discussed in parliament in A.D. 1155, (vid. p. 492 sup.) should have been kept secret for so many years after. And not less strange, that when at length communicated to those who had been so long kept in the dark about it, there should have been no expression of dissatisfaction, or even of surprise, uttered on the occasion by those who must naturally have felt such a deep and personal interest in the contents of those documents.

This much is certain—that the princes, clergy, and people of Ireland received Henry when he came among them with a wonderful degree of attention and respect, submitting to him, as their lord and ruler, in a manner that seems utterly unaccountable, if we suppose them to have regarded him only in the light of a stranger and an enemy. No deeds of arms had they seen him perform in their island; nor were any of the actions of his followers calculated to inspire such awe through the entire nation. To what then was he indebted for that unarmed and kindly reception which he met with in Ireland, if not to the language of the Romish passport, which had enjoined the Irish people "to receive him in honourable style, and respect him as their lord."

A. D. 1175.

proceedings, has been the subject of grave censure, even from the pen of Roman Catholic writers; and Dr. Lanigan in particular makes use of very strong language in condemnation of the way in which these pontiffs were induced to hand over our native isle to the tender mercies of the English invader.*

Council of
Windsor,
A.D. 1175;

In the same year to which the circumstances last recorded belong, arrangements were made for bringing to a final settlement the disputes between Henry II. and the Irish princes, which had not as yet been satisfactorily adjusted. For which purpose Roderic O'Conor sent over three commissioners, namely, Catholicus or Cadla,

* It is instructive for churchmen to observe the manner in which an enlightened Romanist can bring himself to speak on these matters. The following are among the expressions used by Lanigan in treating of them:—"What an apostolical and exemplary sovereign was Henry Plantagenet! It is strange that the pope could have listened to such stuff," as the representations made to him about Ireland by that prince—"These hypocritical reasons [alleged on Henry's part] are ginen in the very beginning of the hopeful bull of Adrian IV." Again—"This nonsense of the pope's being head owner of all Christian islands had been partially announced to the world in a bull of Urban II., dated A.D. 1091." Again—"Those stories were patched up in spite of chronology or of any authority whatsoever." Pope Alexander "seems to have known nothing of the state of the Irish Church, except what he had heard from the lying accounts of the enemies of Ireland; and as to ecclesiastical or other dirt, I believe he might in those times have found enough of it, and I fear more, nearer home, without looking for it in this country"—(Ec. Hist. iv. 155, 160, 164, 223.) Other like expressions might easily be added, but these will sufficiently illustrate the point to which they refer. Alexander however had received an account of the state of religion in this island from the prelates assembled in the Synod of Cashel. Were they "the lying enemies of Ireland"?

archbishop of Tuam, Concors, abbot of St. Brendan's of Clonfert, and Laurence, his chancellor, who were to negotiate in his name with King Henry. They accordingly waited on that monarch at Windsor, and attended a "great council" or parliament, holden by him there during the week after Michaelmas of the same year; at which were also present the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops of England, as also Laurence O'Toole, archbishop of Dublin, and the earls and barons of England.*

A.D. 1175.

At this council a treaty was agreed to between the two kings, which is still extant. It contains several articles that were to regulate the future relations which should subsist between them, and commences in the following manner:—

at which a final treaty is agreed to between Henry and Roderic O'Conor.

"This is the final treaty agreed to at Windsor, in the octaves of St. Michael's day, in the year of grace 1175, between our lord Henry, son of the Empress Matilda, king of England, and Roderic, king of Connaught, through the agency of Catholicus, archbishop of Tuam, and Cantordis, abbot of St. Brendan, and Master Laurence, chancellor of the king of Connaught.

Terms of the treaty.

"To wit, that the king of England grants to the aforesaid Roderic, his liegeman, king of Con-

Roderic to be a king subject to Henry II., &c. &c.

* Reg. Hoved. ad. an. 1175. Lan. iv. 226.—N.B.—Here again Dr. Lanigan is indebted for the record of this important treaty to the despised Hoveden.

A. D. 1175.

naught, so long as he faithfully serves him, that he shall be a king holding under him and ready to serve him as his own man, and that he is to retain possession of his present territories, as firmly and peaceably as he held them before that our lord the king of England came into Ireland; paying him tribute; and that he is to have under his superintendence and jurisdiction the whole of the remaining part of the land and its inhabitants; so as that they shall pay their tribute in full to the king of England through his hand; and that they shall still enjoy their own rights, and that the present holders shall continue to hold in peace, so long as they remain faithful to the king of England, and pay him faithfully and in full their tribute and other dues which they owe him, through the hand of the king of Connaught, saving in all things the privilege and honour of our lord the king of England, and his own"—[i. e. the rights, &c., of King Roderic.]

Roderic to
be assisted
by the Eng-
lish in case
of necessity.

The treaty then goes on to arrange, that if the power of Roderic should prove insufficient for the enforcement of the treaty and tribute, he was to be assisted by the constable and servants of the English monarch. The tribute was but trifling, consisting only of one hide for every tenth head of cattle killed in Ireland. The powers allowed to Roderic in this engagement

were not however to extend to all Ireland; for the king reserved to himself or his barons, Dublin and its appurtenances, all Meath and Leinster, besides Waterford and Dungarvan, and the territory between them. To secure the fulfilment of the treaty, hostages were to be given by Roderic to King Henry, according as he should be pleased to appoint. Among the witnesses who signed the deed were the bishops of Winchester and Ely, Laurence, archbishop of Dublin, and other clerks and laymen.*

"In the same council the king of England gave to Master Augustin, an Irishman, the bishopric of Waterford, which was then vacant, in Ireland. And sent him into Ireland with Laurence, archbishop of Dublin, to be consecrated by Donatus, archbishop of Cashel."† "On this occasion," as Dr. Lanigan observes, "the king acted very judiciously; first, by not placing a foreigner over the Church of Waterford; and secondly, by not getting Augustin consecrated in England, but directing him as the canons required, to the metropolitan whose suffragan he was to become."‡ Happy would it have been for Ireland if the same prudent policy which was exhibited in this first collation by an English king to an Irish bishopric had been a little more followed in after times.

A. D. 1173.

Henry's first
episcopal
appointment
for Ireland,
and his
wisdom.

* Hoved. ut sup.

† ib.

‡ Lan. iv. 227.

A. D. 1176.

Death and
interment of
Strongbow.

In the year (1176) following that in which the aforesaid Council of Windsor was held, Earl Strongbow died, and was succeeded in the government of Ireland by William Fitz-Aldelm whom the king of England sent over as his deputy, with three associates who were to act under him. The remains of Strongbow were solemnly interred in Christ Church Cathedral, under the direction of Archbishop Laurence: and a very ancient monument, supposed to be his, is still preserved in that church; near which an inscribed stone tablet in the adjoining wall contains a more recent record of the sepulture of this remarkable individual.*

Roderic
O'Connor's
son brought
as a hostage
to King
Henry,
A.D. 1180.

It appears that in the year 1180, Laurence O'Toole again visited King Henry, for the purpose of some further settlement of affairs between him and Roderic O'Connor, bringing with him at the same time a son of Roderic's, whom "he delivered to the king of England, as a hostage for the fulfilment of the articles agreed to between him and the king of Connaught, relative to the payment of the tribute of Ireland."† Laurence himself was however, we are told, refused admittance to the king's presence, although he had followed him to Normandy for the purpose of seeing him. This mark of displeasure was exhibited by the English monarch, in con-

Henry's
quarrel with
Laurence
O'Toole.

* Lan. iv. 230. Ware Annals ad. an. 1176. † Hoved. ad. an. 1161.

sequence, it seems, of the circumstance that Laurence when he had gone to attend the Council of Lateran, had obtained from the pope certain privileges which Henry considered an infringement of his own rights, and also of an oath given to him by Laurence on that occasion, assuring him that he would not act in any way so as to injure the interests of the realm of England or its monarch.*

Shortly after in the same year Laurence died, and was buried at Augum or Eu in Normandy. Among others who were present at his interment, was Cardinal Alexius, the pope's legate for Scotland, who happened to arrive then at Eu. Immediately on being informed of Laurence's death, Henry II. despatched Geoffry de la Hay, his chaplain, with another clergyman belonging to the legate Alexius, to come to Ireland for the purpose of taking possession of the archbishopric of Dublin in his name, until a successor for Laurence should be appointed.

A. D. 1175.

Death of
Archbishop
Laurence,
A.D. 1190.

* Lan. iv. 238, 243, 244.

BOOK V.

IRELAND UNDER THE JOINT INFLUENCES OF ENGLAND AND ROME. A.D. 1172—1537.

CHAP. I.

SKETCH OF THE VARIOUS PARTIES EXISTING IN IRELAND SUBSEQUENTLY TO THE INVASION.—ITS EFFECTS UPON THE STATE OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL BODY.

A. D. 1172.

*Normans
the principal
actors in the
invasion of
Ireland.*

THE invasion of Ireland in the twelfth century, of which a brief record has been set before the reader in the foregoing pages, although very commonly spoken of as a proceeding of the Saxons or English people, should more properly be attributed to the Normans: this invasion being but the natural overflowing into Ireland of the tide of Norman adventurers which had so effectually inundated England in the preceding century. So far as native Englishmen were engaged in the undertaking, they were more the tools, or at best the helpers, of their conquerors, than independent movers in the work. They had now for a century been subject in their own land to injustice and oppression at the hands of

these conquerors; of whose hard usage their native Church in particular had especial reason to complain. The Saxon was excluded from the prospect of advancement to a bishopric or other principal dignity in his own Church, those offices being reserved for Normans and other foreigners, few of whom were acquainted with the English language. By such persons the Church benefices of England, and other posts of honour and emolument, civil and ecclesiastical, in that country, had in the course of a century become pretty well filled up, affording to the Norman settlers the lordship of episcopal sees, castles, earldoms, and other like situations adapted to the taste of the aspiring and the covetous. But Ireland, still unoccupied, appeared to afford a new field for their as yet unsatisfied desires; a district where, by a judicious extension of the borders of the Church, new situations, possessing similar advantages to those already acquired in England, might be provided for younger brothers, sons, and nephews, cousins, and other needy friends and retainers in England or still in Normandy. Accordingly one of the first acts of the Anglo-Norman government in Ireland (in connection with the distributing of the civil offices of the country among secular favourites) was that of making a suitable provision for the future clergy and prelates of the country; the intention of

A. D. 1172.

A. D. 1172.

The pope an
abettor of
the invasion
before Dermot
Mac Murrough.

Parties
formed in
Ireland at
the time of
the Con-
quest :—

1.
The king of
England ;

some of the chief promoters of the plan being (as subsequent events clearly show) that these ecclesiastics, or at least the most eminent and influential of them, should be, not Irishmen any longer, but those whose birth, race, or connections, gave promise of a steadier attachment on their part to the cause of the strangers. We should remember here that the treachery of the wicked Dermot, although the immediate, was not the original cause of the Anglo-Norman invasion. That had been not only contemplated but publicly discussed in a "Great Council" of England, and had also received the sanction of a papal bull some sixteen years before ; and the invader was only waiting for his opportunity, when it was so conveniently afforded by the unworthy prince of Leinster.

By the settlement of the strangers in Ireland, united with the recently introduced notions of the pope's supremacy, various parties came to be formed, whose conflicting interests kept the country in a state of incessant disturbance and war. Of these different parties, and their several interests, it is very necessary that we should take notice, in order to be able to understand rightly the state of affairs in our island subsequently to the Conquest. First, there was the authority of the king of England, nominally, at least, sovereign, which he exercised by his vice-

roya. Next, the authority of the pope, now recognised as supreme in spiritual matters : and this was exercised either by his legates, or by such of the more ordinary prelates of the Irish Church as he found it convenient to employ as his agents, including to a certain extent their whole body, at least on some occasions. Thirdly, the prelates themselves, with their clergy, had an interest of their own to support, which often opposed the monarch, and did not always coincide with the views of the court of Rome. This influence was perhaps the most powerful in the country, possessing most advantages, and most policy and cunning in the use of them. It was however weakened in some degree by the bitter animosities and discords that arose between different individuals and classes of the clerical body, to which we shall have occasion to refer more fully hereafter. A fourth interest in Ireland was that of the Anglo-Norman nobles who settled and acquired property and power in the country, and who, although the subjects of the king of England, yet formed with their followers a turbulent and unruly party, who for their own ends often resisted the exercise of his authority, and made encroachments upon his royal prerogative. Many of these adopted in course of time the customs, language, and habit of the native Irish, and were known by the name of *degenerate English*, who

A. D. 1172.

2.

The pope :

2.

The prelates :

4.

The nobles of the English race :

A. D. 1172.

5.
The native
Irish prin-
ces and peo-
ple.Liegemen,
Irish ene-
mies, and
rebels, what.Relative
positions of
these vari-
ous parties.

are described as having become "*Hibérnis ipsis Hiberniores*," i. e. more Irish than the Irish themselves. The last class to be noticed in this place was that of the native Irish and their princes, the largest, but weakest class of all; divided from one another by a thousand feuds and petty jealousies into innumerable opposing factions, and the multitude of this class being made in turn the victims or the slaves of all who had power to tyrannise over them. To this sketch we need only add, that the inhabitants of Ireland also were divided, about the commencement of the fifteenth century, into the following three classes—liegemen, or good subjects; Irish enemies, who had never submitted to the government, and who were indeed in a state of almost constant warfare with it; and rebels, who from having been subjects by birth or submission, had taken up arms against the state, or at least renounced the English laws and institutions.*

This short sketch of the state of parties in Ireland after the Conquest will be abundantly illustrated by the historical transactions of the ensuing period, which we shall have occasion to

* This classification was given by Richard II. in his dispatches from Ireland to the Duke of York. See Leland, i. Appendix, No. 2.: Phelan's *History of the Policy of the Church of Rome in Ireland*, Dublin, Milliken and Son, 1827, p. 71. From the latter very able and eloquent (but by no means unprejudiced) work, I have derived much aid in the compilation of the history of the period which here follows, as will be seen from the references.

record. Changes of circumstances, we may easily see, often led these different parties to form various combinations, according as their several interests were concerned; those at one time most hostile being led at another time by policy to mutual peace. But generally, in the period from the Conquest to the Reformation, the popes and kings of England pulled mostly together, their interests in the country agreeing with each other. Generally also the native Irish came off worst, the most dominant influence in Church and state being against them. Oppressed on the one hand by the lay nobles and princes of the Irish and English races, they could not on the other hand look with much hope for aid to the prelates of the Irish Church; for the ascendant party in that body was one that had little sympathy with the popular feelings or popular cause; while such of the ecclesiastics as would have been most inclined to promote it, were kept in check or crushed by the joint influences of England and Rome.

A. D. 1172.

The English churchmen of that day were very much dissatisfied with the state of the Church and of religion in Ireland; and this on account of the long continued hostility and separation that had existed between the Irish and the Church of Rome, and the many points of difference observable in the discipline, ritual, and

The old Irish regarded by the English as had heretics for denying the pope's supremacy.

A. D. 1172. practices of the two Churches; the canon law of the Church of Rome (so far as peculiar to that Church) having been totally neglected in Ireland. In fact the popular view of the case in England evidently was, that the Irish was a degraded Church, and even heretical; and that it was in consequence of this unhappy circumstance, and in order to reform them in regard to it, that Henry II. had been allowed to invade the island, the special object in view being to inculcate upon the Irish people what were then considered orthodox notions concerning the pope's supremacy. This view of the matter is illustrated in many passages which occur in the English writers of that and the subsequent ages whose works are extant; and particularly in the old translation of Giraldus, already quoted.* Another worthy old author, John Harding, who wrote in rhyme a "Chronicle" of English affairs, which he dedicated to King Edward IV., introduces into that work the following stanza bearing on this subject:—†

Illustration
of this from
Harding's
Chronicle.

The King Henry then conquered all Ireland
By papal dome, there of his royalties
The profits and revenues of y^e land
The dominacion and the soverayntee
For errorr which agayn the spiritualtee
They holde full long, and would not been correcte
Of heresyee with wch they were infecte.

* Vid. p. 526, sup. † Quoted in Ussher's Reim. of A. L. ch. vi., and in the Ussher MS. E. 3. 10. No. 11. Library, Trinity Col-

And in another part of the same work, briefly describing the title of King Edward to the various parts of his territories, he addresses him in these words:—"To Ireland also" have you right,

A. D. 1172.

—by King Henry le fyts
Of Maude, daughter of firste King Henry
That conquered it for *theyr greates heresy.*

To reform the state of the Irish Church was therefore the great aim of the invaders, so far as their ecclesiastical policy was concerned, or so far as any designs connected with religion entered into their thoughts. And as the ecclesiastical body in those days was generally distributed into two great departments, the secular and the regular, so each of these was to have its own share in the proposed improvements. Let us now briefly consider each of these departments in its turn, and observe the important changes which they underwent about the time of the Anglo-Norman conquest.

The clergy divided into two classes.

And first, as to the secular clergy and their prelates, or in other words, the parish priests and their bishops. They had been in the early

State of the secular clergy in Ireland before the Anglo-Norman invasion.

lege, Dublin. The passages are from chapters 134 and 241. (fol. 141, 232) of the London edition of Harding's *Chronicle*, published in 1843. In the new edition, Lond. 1812, they occur at p. 256. (stanza 2,) and p. 417. (stanza 2,) respectively. John Harding was living, at a very advanced age, in 1461. Vid. Nicholson, *Eng. Hist. Lit.* London. 1714, p. 68.

A. D. 1172.

Their sub-
jection to
the native
princes ;

times of Ireland a comparatively poor and humble race of men. Tithes had been so little paid or even heard of among them, that the learned Roman Catholic historian of the Irish Church is of opinion that down to the period of the Invasion they were generally not paid. And the testimonies of ancient writers are sufficient to show at least that in the twelfth century and previously, they had fallen into much disuse.* And with regard to their power and influence, the prelates were allowed, it is true, a place in the great councils of the nation, and treated in other respects with much deference ; † but still they were altogether under the jurisdiction of their several princes, and subject to their control by civil laws, as much as any laymen were. That exemption from the jurisdiction of lay tribunals, for which Thomas à Becket and other advocates of the papacy contended so strenuously at this period in England, had been in Ireland altogether unknown ; the notion of dependence on the pope exclusively, as on the vicar of Christ, being quite a novel one in this land at that time. Facts attesting the truth of this position (of which however the reader of the former part of this work need look for little further evidence) are freely admitted by the most learned Roman

* *Len.* iv. 282, and p. 521, *sup.* † *Vid.* pp. 469, 485, &c., *sup.*

Catholic writers.* They allow that in early times the Irish ecclesiastics took no oaths to the pope, never applied to the see of Rome for bulls of nomination, exemption, or institution, and never appealed to Rome for the decision of ecclesiastical cases. Papal legates were unknown. The bishops and other prelates of a tribe were appointed by the native chieftains, in conjunction with the clergy of the district.† And they ranked after these chieftains in dignity, and were greatly controlled by their authority; as may be seen in various instances. For example, the Irish clergy were obliged to attend their princes in war, and afford them military service; from which they were not excused until A.D. 799 or 800,‡ and then without any reference to the pope's authority or opinion. Moreover in case of civil offences, such as manslaughter, and the like, they were subject, before the Synod of Cashel, to the same penalties as laymen, the law making no difference in their favour. The chieftains levied contributions on the Church lands connected with their estates. And the learned Roman Catholic writer above referred to, gives it as his opinion, that in ancient times the pre-

A. D. 1172.

and total independence of papal authority illustrated.

* See Dr. O'Connor's *Columbanus*, 3. 160; *Historical Address*, 1. 10, &c., quoted in Phelan's *Policy*, pp. 47, 48, 49.

† O'Connor, *Columbanus* 5. 45, and pp. 421, 426, 429, 430, &c., sup.

‡ Lanigan iii. 244.

A. D. 1172. lates could not even act in obedience to a papal mandate without the consent of their secular princes.*

Changes
made in
their favour
by the power
of England.

The bishops
are made to
rank above
the princes.

But under the influence of the English government a new order of things was introduced; and the Irish clergy soon rose by rapid strides to a degree of dignity similar to that enjoyed by their brethren in the neighbouring island; becoming filled at the same time with those high views of the supremacy of clerical power, which had lately received a new impulse in England from the circumstances following the death of Thomas à Becket. And these views were the more easily carried out in Ireland from the weakness of the civil power and the distractions of party strife. Moreover the bishops were now placed by the authority of King Henry II. above their former lords; thus becoming, instead of the humble servants of a turbulent chieftainry, "the first order of peers under a powerful monarch." This new dignity of theirs is acknowledged in various writs issued subsequently by the kings of England. That for instance of Henry II. himself, appointing Fitz-Aldelm to be his lieutenant in Ireland, is addressed to his "arch-

* Lanigan iv. 303 not. 3. See also the Acts of the Synod of Cashel, as already given at p. 516, sup. In fact it is evident that the chieftains, though not so called, yet were (in the lawful sense of the word as applicable to men) the *heads of the Church* in their respective districts.

bishops, bishops, *kings*, earls, barons, and all his liegemen of Ireland." And Henry III. commences one of his writs in these terms :—
 " Henry, by the grace of God, king of England, &c., to the venerable father, Luke, by the same grace, archbishop of Dublin, *and* to his trusty and well-beloved Maurice Fitzgerald, his lord deputy of Ireland, greeting;" thus ranking the prelate, as an eloquent writer has observed, above his own lieutenant, and conferring on him a style of independent dignity corresponding to his own.*

The dignity however would have been of little value without means to support it ; but these in the Synod of Cashel had been amply provided. The extensive lands and property already in the possession of the Church, were for the future to be free from all customary tributes or exactions on the part of secular persons. The parish priest was henceforth regularly to be paid his tithe of the cattle, fruits, and all other produce of the lands of laymen ; and at the death of each head of a family among the faithful, the half or third of his moveable goods was to be allocated to the expenses of his funeral obsequies ; no small portion of which, we may suppose, would naturally be paid to the officiating clergy, on account of the vigils and masses, which by another act of

A.D. 1172.

Provision
made for the
support of
the clergy
by tithes,
&c.

* As is remarked by Phelan, *Policy*, &c., p. 50.

A.D. 1172.

the same synod, were required to be performed on the occasion of the sepulture of the person deceased. Such were the temporal advantages secured at this time to the Irish Church, but especially for such Anglo-Normans as should appear worthy to be entrusted with its high dignities, and the superintendence of its "reformation."

*State of the
monastic
system in
Ireland at
this period.*

Thus far with regard to the state of the Church in general, and the secular clergy in particular. Let us now turn our attention to the condition of the monastic institutions, and the changes which were made in connection with them, about this time. The monasteries were, as we have seen, the schools of learning, and the training seminaries of the clergy.* To educate a new race of teachers for the people, a new growth of ecclesiastics was now to be fostered, educated in a manner calculated to fit them for the altered circumstances of the Irish Church: and to provide these new teachers it was necessary that new schools should be founded for their education. A beginning well adapted for this end had been made in the introduction of Cistercian monks into Ireland in the time of Primate Malachy,† and of Augustine canons perhaps a little earlier; which were thus beginning to replace the orders belonging

* Book II. chap. vii. sup.

† Page 477, sup.

to the old Irish monastic foundations. For many of these had, before the coming of the English, ceased to exist, having been either destroyed by the Danes, or else plundered and burned in the more recent wars among the Irish themselves, and not afterwards rebuilt. "It would be an endless and almost fruitless task," says Dr. Lanigan,* "to inquire into the particular times at which so many of those old monasteries disappeared. The reader, on looking over Archdall's *Monasticon*, and noting the periods at which the succession of their abbots ceased, will perceive that a great number of them had fallen off, some sooner, some later, before the beginning of the thirteenth century. But," observes the same writer, "to such persons as wished to embrace the religious or monastic state, sufficient opportunities were afforded by the many establishments for canons regular of St. Augustine, and the Cistercian monasteries, adding some Benedictine ones, that were formed [in this country] during the twelfth century."

It is added however, that there did still continue to exist a considerable number of the old monasteries, and particularly of the larger ones; such as Armagh, Derry, Bangor, Moville in Down, Clonard, Kildare, Clonmacnoise, Glendaloch, Lismore, Cork, Inniscatthy, Lorrha, &c.

A.D. 1172.

Decline of
the old Irish
monasteries.

Effects of
the Con-
quest on the
regular
clergy and
their insti-
tutions.

* Ec. Hist. iv. 345, 346.

A. D. 1172.

But these old foundations, following rules derived from the ancient saints of this isle, or their native successors, were far too Irish for the taste which now began to prevail in Ireland; nor could their "barbarous simplicity" commend them much to the respectful feelings of the accomplished invaders. Nay the Irish princes themselves were so much seized with admiration of the foreign monastic orders, that they vied or co-operated with the new settlers in founding and multiplying establishments for those orders in their native land. Consequently by the zeal of both parties, (a zeal however in which the strange settlers were by far the most conspicuous,) there soon arose through the country a prodigious number of these institutions; the grandeur of which must have formed a striking contrast with the shattered remains of many a time-worn fabric of earlier ages. The Irish had indeed possessed among themselves before the Conquest an elegant and beautiful style of architecture, of which some traces even still remain : * but the specimens of it which were extant in the times of the Invasion were no doubt easily obscured by the magic effects of Norman art. Within the short space of eight years from the appearance of the first party of the English in the island, "splendid abbeys in Cork, Limerick,

Monasteries
of the new
foreign or-
ders erected
in vast num-
bers by the
strangers.

* See Petrie's Essay on the *Round Towers*, &c. of Ireland.

Tipperary, Wexford, Meath, and Down, some of the finest which Ireland ever possessed," were raised as a kind of trespass offerings for their deeds of violence, by the principal leaders of the Invasion; and within a century and a half from the same date, one hundred and sixty religious houses founded and endowed by them and their followers, with countless grants of land and other benefactions, indicated the interest with which they were led to regard the state of religion and of the Church in this country.*

A. D. 1172.

As to the motives which may have led the Anglo-Norman adventurers, and others in their time, to exhibit such an extraordinary zeal for the foundation of monastic institutions, they were no doubt various. One of the most common appears to have been the impression then prevalent, according to the corrupt and anti-scriptural system of that age, that by such offerings at the shrine of religion, men might efface the guilt of past crimes, and propitiate the majesty of the Almighty. Accordingly the building and endowing of abbeys is spoken of by Dr. Lanigan as having been "a fashionable mode of purchasing off sins, and obtaining forgiveness from heaven," a kind of "monkish soldierly piety" by which "these adventurers

Motives of the founders of these new institutions;

* Phelan's *Policy*, pp. 23, 53.

A.D. 1172.

some of
whom were
infamous
characters.

Zeal of Dermod Mac Murrough in this respect.

Diligence of the principal invaders in the same work.

and plunderers endeavoured to atone for their robberies," and other crimes committed in Ireland.* It was indeed a kind of piety in which the most infamous characters exhibited their share, as for instance, even the wicked and profligate Dermod, king of Leinster, who had been the founder of several religious houses. Of these the oldest appears to have been the nunnery of St. Mary de Hogges, the site of which was near that of the present church of St. Andrew, Dublin. This institution he founded for what were called "nuns following the rule of St. Augustin, according to the order of Aroasia." In 1151 the same Dermod founded the Cistercian abbey of Baltinglass; in 1160 or 1161 a monastery at Ferns for Augustin canons, which he richly endowed; and in or before 1166 the priory of All Hallows or All Saints, on Hoggin Green, (now College Green,) where Trinity College at present stands, &c. The last named priory was for Aroasian canons.†

It may prove instructive to the reader to set forth in this place a concise list of some of the principal monastic foundations erected in Ireland at this time by the zeal of the Anglo-Norman settlers; from which it will easily appear what a powerful aid they must have derived from

* Vid. p. 214, sup. chap. ii. inf. and Lanigan Ec. Hist. iv. 282, 283.

† Ib. 186 188, Harris's *Ware*, and Archdall's *Monasticon Hibernicum*.

these institutions for the promoting of their own views and influence in the country. A.D. 1172.

To begin with Earl Strongbow, the principal invader. He founded, we learn, in or about A.D. 1175 a priory for knights of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, (afterwards called knights of Malta,) at Kilmainham, near Dublin, which foundation was confirmed by King Henry II.* instanced in Earl Strongbow,

In 1177 William Fitz-Aldelm founded, by order of Henry II., the celebrated abbey of "St. Thomas the Martyr," (*i. e.* Becket,) for that class of Augustin canons who were known as canons regular of the order of St. Victor. It was near Dublin, and on the site now called Thomas-court; and was founded, we are told, for the good of the souls of Geoffry, count of Anjou, father of the king, of the empress his mother, and his ancestors, and of the king himself and his sons. It was also endowed with land by the founder.† Henry II. and Fitz-Aldelm,

The same William Fitz-Aldelm in or about A.D. 1200, founded also the magnificent monastery of Athassel, near the Suir, three miles from Cashel, which was named in honour of St. Edmund, king and martyr, and built for the use of canons regular of St. Augustin.‡

John de Courcy was particularly distinguished by his zeal for the promoting of these new estab- De Courcy,

* *Lan. iv. p. 230.*

† *ib. 233.*

‡ *ib. 335.*

A.D. 1172.

lishments. It seems to have been in 1180 that he founded the Cistercian monastery of Iniscourcy or Inch, near Lough Strangford, opposite Downpatrick, to atone, it is said, for having destroyed another, a Benedictine one, in the same locality. To about the same year is attributed also the foundation by him of the Benedictine establishment called the Black Priory of St. Andrew de Stokes, in the Ardes, county of Down.*

John de Courcy also founded, in A.D. 1183, the Benedictine priory of the island of Neddrum, somewhere, it seems, off the coast of the county of Down. Also, it seems, in the same year, the priory of St. John the Baptist, *alias* the English Priory, in Down, for the Cruciferi, a branch of the Augustin Canons.† Africa, the wife of De Courcy, participated in the taste of her husband for multiplying these establishments, and it was she who founded in 1193 the beautiful Cistercian monastery, known as the Grey Abbey, in the Ardes of Down.‡

[Abbey of Holy Cross founded.]

[It was at this time, i. e. about A.D. 1182, that the celebrated and beautiful Cistercian abbey of Holy Cross, in the county of Tipperary, was erected and endowed by Donald O'Brien, king of North Munster.§ But to proceed with our account of the Anglo-Norman foundations.]

* *Leg. iv. p. 249.* † *Id. 204.* ‡ *Id. 331.* § *Id. 202.*

In the said year 1182, Hervey, of Mount-Morres, founded the Cistercian abbey of Dunbrody, in the county Wexford, which he also endowed with grants of land and other property.*

A. D. 1172.

Hervey of
Mount-
Morres.

About the same year Hugh de Lacy (who in A.D. 1178 succeeded to William Fitz-Aldelm as chief governor of Ireland) erected two monasteries for Augustin canons, one at Duleek, the other at Colp, anciently Invercolpa, near the mouth of the Boyne.* Others of the same family were afterwards engaged in similar undertakings. Thus Walter de Lacy in the reign of Richard I., (1189-1199) founded an establishment at Kilmainham-beg, near Nobber in Meath, for the military order of the Knights Hospitallers: and Hugh de Lacy, earl of Ulster, founded in the early part of the thirteenth century another for the same order at Castlebuy, in the Ardes, county of Down.† Walter de Lacy also founded the priory of St. John the Baptist, near Kells, for the order of the Cruciferi, to which was subject the priory of St. Leonard, near Dundalk, founded by Bertram de Verdon, lord of that place.‡ And Matilda de Lacy founded in like manner, about the commencement of the thirteenth century, a commandery for knights templars at Kilsaran, in the now county of Louth.§

The family
of the De
Lacy.* *ib.*† *ib.* 339.‡ *ib.* 337.

§ 330.

A.D. 1172.

The Earl of
Pembroke.

William Mareschal, earl of Pembroke, son-in-law of Strongbow, and for some time chief governor of Ireland, was also distinguished as a promoter of the work now under consideration. It was he that founded, in A.D. 1200, the Cistercian abbey of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Tintern, in the present county Wexford, in consequence of a vow which, when in great danger at sea, he had made, binding himself to erect a monastery in the place where he should first land, in case of his being preserved. This happened to be near Bannow bay, where Tintern is situated.* This William also founded somewhere about the same time the house of Canons Regular, at Kilrush, in the now county Kildare;† and also the establishment under the names of St. John and St. Bridgid, for Knights Hospitallers, at Wexford.‡

John, Earl
of Moreton.

John, earl of Moreton, son of Henry II., and afterwards king of England, founded two Benedictine priories, one near Cork, and the other near Waterford; both of them also in the twelfth century, and both under the name of St. John the Evangelist.§

and various
others of the
same party.

To these foundations we might add many others of like origin, as that of Grace Dieu, a famous nunnery for canonesses regular of the

* Lan. iv. p. 232. † Ib. 232. ‡ Ib. 232. § Ib. 232.

order of St. Augustin, situated three miles north of Swords, county Dublin, and founded about A.D. 1190, by John Cumin, the first English archbishop of Dublin;* that of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Kells, (county Kilkenny,) for canons of the same order, founded in 1193 by Geoffry Fitz-Robert, seneschal of Leinster;† the convent of Augustin canons founded at Newtown, near Trim, in Meath, in A.D. 1206, by Simon Rochfort, the first English bishop of Meath, who also raised the church of the same convent to the rank of a cathedral under the title of SS. Peter and Paul;‡ the priory of St. John, at Nenagh, for canons regular, instituted in or about A.D. 1200, by Theobald Walter, butler of Ireland;§ that of Woney or Abington, (county Limerick,) a Cistercian house founded by the same individual about A.D. 1205;|| the nunnery of St. Mary's of Grany, (county Kildare,) for Augustin canonesses, founded about A.D. 1200, by Walter de Riddlesford; that of St. Mary of Timolin, (in the same county,) established about the same time by Robert Fitz-Richard, for Augustin nuns of the order of Aroasia, &c., &c.¶

A.D. 1172.

It were unnecessary, even if convenient, to tire the reader by extending this list any further; what has already been given being sufficient for promo-

Adaptation
of the new
monasteries
for promo-

* Ib. 219. † Ib. 221. ‡ Ib. 222. § Ib. 223. || Ib. 224. ¶ Ib. 225.

A. D. 1172.
ting the
views and
influence
of the
strangers.

cient to show what an interest the new settlers took in the work under consideration, and what a powerful instrument they must have found in these their new monastic establishments for promoting their own influence and their own views in Ireland. The services of the bishops and parochial clergy were also to be secured, as far as possible, for assisting towards the same object: but their body, from the nature of its constitution, laws, and general circumstances, was a more unwieldy and unmanageable instrument for application to the purposes of an individual or of a party. When a bishopric became vacant, it was no doubt a very useful thing for the Anglo-Norman interest that the vacancy should be filled with one of its supporters. To wait for such vacancies might however require too much patience; and to fill them afterwards in a manner satisfactory to the private feelings and interests of all concerned, might be often difficult. The new monastic institutions, however, meanwhile afforded to their founders a gratifying field for the exercising of their patronage and influence, providing at the same time schools for the education, under such influence, of those who should afterwards fill the high dignities of the Irish Church. For these establishments, like the proprietary chapels of later days, where the appointment of a minister is

placed in the hands of a board of trustees, or of a private individual, were less under the influence of bishops or of ordinary church laws than the common diocesan and parochial institutions; and in the same degree were they more easily governed and regulated in such a way as was most approved of by the persons who had been instrumental to their erection.*

A.D. 1172.

We shall be much mistaken if we imagine that the new Anglo-Norman abbeys were intended for the benefit or improvement of the "mere Irish;" or that the founders of them were so disinterested as to content themselves with appointing in them competent superiors to teach and govern such of the Irish as would consent to become pupils in them. The object was rather to establish ecclesiastical colonies of the settlers, than to promote any instrumentality

No benefit intended for the "mere Irish" in these new houses.

* In fact, while these invaders were so actively employed in founding and endowing monasteries after their own taste, they stand charged with plundering, at the same time, the cathedral churches and parochial clergy. According to Giraldus Cambrensis they were so little careful to obey the papal mandates and Cashel decrees about saving the rights of the churches, &c., that by their means "the miserable clergy was reduced to beggary in the island," while "the cathedral churches mourn, having been robbed by the persons aforesaid, [i. e. Fitz-Stephen, Herve of Mount Morres, De Courcy, &c.] of their former ample estates."—See the *Proemium* to the second edition of the *Hib. Exp.* and *lib. ii. cap. 35*. Giraldus probably here, as often, exaggerates much; but his testimony is sufficient to show that the invaders were much less liberal towards the bishops and their priests, than to the monastic orders. The Irish themselves also, at a later period, complained of the plunder of their cathedral churches by the settlers, in their appeal to Pope John XXII. of which presently. See below chap. iv. N.B., "Giraldus had an aversion to monks"—*Lan. iv. 289*.

A. D. 1172.

Cells and
alien pri-
ories, what.

The Anglo-
Norman
monasteries
were but
ecclesiasti-
cal colonies
of strange
settlers.

which should entrust to the incorrigible Irish the education of those who might enjoy at a future period the benefices and endowments of their own Church. And thus the new monasteries were constantly either filled with inmates from England, or made but cells, as they were called, to English houses of their own order. After the Norman conquest of England, many abbeys in Normandy received from the Norman kings grants of land in England ; on which the monks of those foreign abbeys built priories or cells, which were a kind of little branches of those foreign houses, and continued in subjection to them. And after the conquest of Ireland, the Anglo-Normans carried on the same system in this country, establishing here cells and alien priories, connected with religious houses already founded in England.

To illustrate the preceding observations by a few examples. When John de Courcy founded the Cistercian monastery of Inch, he supplied it with monks from Furness in Lancashire. And afterwards having turned the secular canons out of the cathedral of Down, he introduced in their stead Benedictine monks from St. Werburgh's in Chester. Neddrum, an institution founded, as we have seen, by the same individual, was made by him a cell to the abbey of St. Bega in Cumberland. Hugh de Lacy's Augustin monastery of Duleek was made a cell to the priory of

Llanthony, near Gloucester; and the other, ^{A.D. 1172.} which he founded at Colp, was also made a cell to another Llanthony in Monmouthshire. Philip of Worcester, who in A.D. 1184 succeeded to Hugh de Lacy in the chief government of Ireland, founded at Kilcumin (county Tipperary) a Benedictine priory, called by the names of SS. Philip, James, and Cumin, which he made a cell to Glastonbury, and supplied with monks from that place.* Geoffrey Fitz-Robert brought four monks from Bodmin in Cornwall to his Augustin monastery at Kells. The Cistertian abbey of St. Mary, of Comber, (county Down) founded in 1199 by Bryan Catha Dun, ancestor of the O'Neill's of Clanboys, was by him supplied with monks from Alba Landa in Caermarthen-shire.† The Cistertian abbey of Tintern was supplied with monks from Tintern in Monmouthshire. The two Benedictine priories founded near Cork and Waterford, respectively, by John earl of Moreton, were made cells to the abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul in Bath; and to add but one example more, the earl of Pembroke's foundation for canons regular at Kilrush, was made a cell to the priory of Carthmel in Lancashire.

The circumstance that the Irish bishops were usually chosen out of the monasteries is asserted by Giraldus Cambrensis to have led to much

Influence
of the
monasteries
increased by

* Lan. iv. 262.

† Ib. 324.

A.D. 1172.
the mode of
making epis-
copal ap-
pointments.

indolence on their part; for while he allows that they strictly fulfilled their monastic duties, he accuses them of neglecting at the same time their pastoral obligations. Be that as it may, it is certain that the custom of appointing members of the monastic institutions to the episcopal office, must have added greatly to the weight and influence of those communities in this country. Among the early instances of such appointments noticed by Dr. Lanigan, we subjoin a few for illustration of this point. Christian, bishop of Lismore in 1151, had been abbot of the Cistercian house of Mellifont. The first (Cistercian) abbot of Boyle was made bishop of Clonfert, and died in 1171. The bishop of Derry, who died in 1173, had been an Augustin canon. An Augustin abbot became archbishop of Armagh in 1174. An abbot of Mellifont became bishop of Emly in 1177. The Cistercian abbot of Baltinglass succeeded to the see of Ferns in 1185. The bishop of Elphin, who died in 1195, had been a Cistercian abbot of Boyle. An Augustin canon succeeded to Clogher in the same year. The Cistercian abbot of Monaster-evan became bishop of Leighlin in 1197. A Cistercian monk was raised to the archbishopric of Tuam in 1201. An English Augustin canon to the bishopric of Ossory in 1202, and a Cis-

tertian monk to the archbishopric of Cashel in 1206, &c. &c.* A. D. 1172.

Many instances there are on record which prove that between the native Irish and the new monks introduced among them, there existed much strife and bitterness, which led to many disgraceful quarrels. To these we shall have to refer again further on. Suffice it here to say, that supported as the latter class of persons was by the power of England, and the patronage of the pope, they could be little troubled by the feeble opposition of their Irish antagonists.

Dissensions
between the
new monks
and the
Irish.

The narrow limits of our space prevent us from giving the reader, in this work, any particular account of the different orders of monks whose names occur in this chapter.† Only we may mention that the Benedictines were so called from their founder, the Abbot Benedict. The Cisterians, a reformed order of these, were so called from Cisteaux or Citeaux, a village of Burgundy in France, where their sect had been first established. And the Augustin canons took their name from the famous St. Augustin of Hippo, who flourished in A.D. 397, although their order did not come into existence until A.D. 1061. They were first introduced into

Origin of
the names
Benedictine,
Cisterian,
Augustin.

* These instances may all easily be found in Lanigan, vol. iv.

† An account of them may be found in Churton's *Early English Church*, pp. 319—343.

A. D. 1172. Ireland, it would seem, by Primate Malachy, in
A.D. 1137, when he became bishop of Down.*

CHAP. II.

BRIEF GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE STATE OF RELIGION AND
LEARNING IN THE CHURCH OF IRELAND, WHILE SUBJECT TO
THE JOINT INFLUENCES OF ROME AND ENGLAND.

IN the preceding chapter an attempt has been made to explain briefly to the reader the important changes in the condition of the Irish clergy, which were brought about by means of the Anglo-Norman Invasion. In what next follows we shall have to consider the state of religion at this period and in the subsequent ages: and while thus reviewing the doctrines which then prevailed among the members of the Church, and observing at the same time the examples furnished in the lives and actions of many of them who were the most eminent in their times, we shall be able to form some idea of the working of the new system, the introduction of which has already occupied our attention.

which embraces some-
what less
than 400
years.

The period here especially referred to is that during which Ireland was subject to the combined influences of England and Rome, a period consisting of about 365 years, reckoning from

* Lanigan iv. 106, 106.

A.D. 1172, in which the Synod of Cashel met, (and introduced, for the first time, canons for the Church of Ireland, sanctioned by the joint authority of the king of England and the pope of Rome,) to A.D. 1537, when the pope's supremacy was, with the sanction of the English government, abolished by the Irish parliament. The whole time during which the Church of Ireland was subjected to Roman influence was somewhat longer; and its commencement may be reckoned from various periods, according as we connect it with the giving of the palls, the appointment of the first legate, or other earlier intrusive proceedings. Its extinction may also be referred to various dates; as for instance, to the period above noted, when the supremacy of the pope was abolished; or to 1551, when a reformed ritual was introduced into the Irish Church; or to 1560, when the bench of Irish bishops more fully ratified by their assent the work of reformation under Queen Elizabeth.

The student of Irish history has no difficulty, we may easily see, in tracing the origin and subsequent development of Romish power in the country. The several steps of its progress are plainly set forth in our annals. The first persons who were in any way instrumental to drawing the Church of Ireland under the dominion of Rome were the Danes. Their second

A. D. 1172
to
A. D. 1537.

The origin
and progress
of Romish
influence in
Ireland easily
traceable.

^{to}
A.D. 1173 bishop in Dublin (A.D. 1074) was the first bishop
A.D. 1187. resident in Ireland (so far as history informs us) who acknowledged subjection in spiritual matters to any but an Irish primate.* The first public assertion of the pope's supremacy, as extending to Ireland, was that made by Pope Gregory VII. in his letter to the Irish, written about A.D. 1084.† The first Romish legate for Ireland was Gillebert, who was bishop of the Danes of Limerick in 1106.‡ The same Gillebert was the first who made an effort to have the old Irish service books abolished, and the Roman office or mass book introduced universally instead.§ The first Irish council at which a pope's legate presided, was that of Rathbreasil, in 1118.|| The first episcopal appointment in Ireland in which any influence of the pope, however faint, can be traced as existing, appears to have been one made by St. Malachy as legate, in the nomination of a bishop for Cork about A.D. 1140.¶ The first saints of the "Island of Saints" who were elevated to the dignity of that name by a papal sanction, were Malachy and Laurence who died in 1148 and 1180, respectively. The first pallis bestowed on any prelates of the Irish Church were sent over here in 1151.** The first wearers of them were the following arch-

* p. 431, sup. † p. 437, sup. ‡ pp. 435, 450, sup. § p. 442, sup.
 ¶ p. 451, sup. ¶ p. 477, sup. ** 482, sup.

bishops:—Gelasius of Armagh, Donald O'Lonargain of Cashel, Gregory of Dublin, and Eda (or Aidan) O'Hoisin of Tuam.* The first council in Ireland which gave an order for regulating the Church ritual or discipline uniformly with that of the Church of Rome, (as carried into practice in England,) was the Synod of Cashel in A.D. 1172.† The first Irish prelate who received orders from the hands of a pope was John Cumin, archbishop of Dublin, consecrated in 1182.‡ The first primate of Armagh appointed by a pope was Eugene Mac Gillivider, in 1206,§ &c., &c. When these historical facts can be annihilated, and not until then, the Church of Rome may boast of the antiquity of the reception of her doctrines and system in this country; for the ancient religion of Ireland cannot be that which commenced its development 600 years at least after the arrival of St. Patrick in this island. And whoever therefore is disposed to look upon submission to the pope as the supreme head of the Church on earth, as a necessary sign of a good Catholic Christian, will find very little traces of such Catholics in Ireland before the close of the eleventh century.

A.D. 1172

to
A.D. 1537.The first
primate of
all Ireland
appointed
by a pope.
A.D. 1206.Romish errors generally re-
ceived in

During the period however which now claims our attention, it is certain that most of the doc-

* Lanigan iv. 140. 144.

† pp. 518, 520, *sup.*‡ For an account of his appointment see chap. III. *infra*.§ *Id.*

A.D. 1173

to

A.D. 1237.

the Irish
Church
during the
period fol-
lowing the
invasion.

trines of the Church of Rome as at present held were generally received in the Church of this country; although not so much by any regular canonical introduction of them, or assertion of them in a public synod, as by the authority of popular opinion. Prayers to the dead, we have seen, had come into use so early as the close of the eighth century. The ninth furnishes us with an instance of an Irishman on the continent supporting the "veneration of sacred images," &c. Malachy in the twelfth, was probably the first Irish teacher who propagated the doctrine of transubstantiation; although not even then without a protesting voice being raised against its assertion.* But it would be tedious and difficult to trace the origin of all the errors and superstitions of present or bygone days. To exhibit countless instances of the existence and popularity of such superstitions in the Anglo-Roman period of the Irish Church, is on the other hand, painfully easy; a circumstance which we need not at all wonder at, for the received doctrine of the Church was Romanism, and this naturally led men to adopt all such superstitions and antisciptural views and practices as are at this day connected with that system, especially in places where its character is uninfluenced by the presence of any better form of religion.

* Vid. pp. 355, 356, 461, sup.

And while the belief of the Church was thus obscured with error, while at least errors prevailed in the popular mind, affecting the most vital points of religion, against which the Church raised no protest, but rather encouraged or enforced them, the lives of many of her members, even of the clergy themselves, and of those too who held the highest rank among them, exhibited many flagrant instances of immorality and vice. It is quite shocking to peruse the dark annals of crime presented to our notice in the Church history of that period, and to reflect that some of the most painful instances of enormity and shameless violation of decency were to be found in the ministers and spiritual pastors of the fold of Christ, the people who were appointed to be the light of the world, and to attract mankind by their good works to glorify their Father in heaven. Bishops and archbishops, and other dignitaries of the Church, furnish us with a sad display in their lives of hatred and variance, strife and violence, immorality and dissipation; and even bloodshed and murder are to be added to the black catalogue. A few instances out of many, illustrating the truth of these remarks, will be found in the succeeding pages of this history.

Among the errors which prevailed in those times, clouding and obscuring the simple faith—

A.D. 1172

to
A.D. 1337.

The lives of
our old
ecclesiastics
in this pe-
riod no
purer than
their doc-
trines.

Errors of
these times
illustrated

A.D. 1172
to
A.D. 1537.

in the false
notions cur-
rent relative
to the merit
of men's
works;

of the Gospel, none perhaps was more general than that which attached to works of piety, or works considered to be such, a superstitious notion of merit, as if those works could atone for sin, or purchase forgiveness from Heaven. One of the most favourite methods adopted for carrying out this principle was the founding and endowing of abbeys and other religious houses, by the establishment of which men supposed that they might reckon on the favour of the Almighty as purchased not only for themselves, but also for others whom they might comprise with them in the deed of gift. An instance of this has already come under our notice, to which we may here add another. Theobald, the son of Walter, butler of Ireland, who died in 1206, confirmed to God and the Blessed Virgin, and certain monks of the Cistercian order, all his possessions in Arklow, "for the love of God and the Blessed Virgin, and for the health of the souls of Henry II., king of England, King Richard, and King John," with those of several other persons, mentioned by name, among whom are included himself also, and his wife.* Other instances of the same thing occur in our annals times without number.

The dis-
honouring of

The honour of Almighty God was also in

* Archdall's *Monasticon*. p. 759, quoted in Mant's *History*, vol. I. p. 48.

those days much confounded with the respect due to His saints; and the undue veneration in which the latter were held, caused them to be associated with the Deity on the most solemn occasions, as if they partook of His nature and attributes. Thus on the erection of St. Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin, the archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, together with the pope's legate, in A.D. 1191, consecrated the new edifice with great pomp and ceremony "to God, our Blessed Lady Mary, and St. Patrick."*

A.D. 1172
to
A.D. 1437.
God's name
in connection
with
those of the
saints;

And to mention only one other instance of this species of abuse, we are told that John Aleyn, dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, by his will in 1505, "committed his sinful soul to the grace and mercy of Jesus Christ, the Maker and Redeemer of him and of all mankind; and to the most Blessed Virgin Mary, his mother; and to all the saints."†

In addition to the extravagant veneration bestowed on the saints themselves, their images also were treated with the greatest reverence, and believed on many occasions to have wrought most singular miracles. Many instances of such stories might be alleged, but that they are not in any sense worth transcribing here; nor do the limits of the present work admit of the

Supersti-
tions con-
nected with
images, false
miracles, &c.

* Mason's *History of St. Patrick's Cathedral*, p. 2, quoted *ib.* p. 84.

† Mason, *App.* p. xxxiv.

A.D. 1172
to
A.D. 1537.

insertion of any specimens of the countless other fictitious miracles to which these ages gave birth.

Abuses connected with the veneration of relics:

And as for the relics of the saints which also shared the honours given to themselves and their images, they are scarcely worthy of a much fuller notice. Suffice it to say, that the ingenuity and industry of the people influenced by the mistaken piety of those times, were exercised in an extraordinary degree in hunting after bones and other relics of the early saints, which to reward their labours were found in great abundance, and treasured up with the most exact care. On particularly solemn occasions however they were exhibited publicly for the edification of the faithful: as for instance, on occasion of the great chapter held at Louth, by Albert of Cologne, archbishop of Armagh, in 1242, at which were present all the abbots and priors of regular canons in the kingdom, when the veneration of the people was excited by an exhibition of many relics of saints, said to have been brought from Rome by St. Mochtra.* The Irish annals make mention of this practice as used in Ireland before the time of the Invasion. They state that at the funeral obsequies of Brien Boru at Armagh, in 1014, there was constant watching

* Ware's Bishops, p. 166, Ed. by Harris, Dublin, 1739.

and "exposure of the reliques of St. Patrick during twelve days and nights."* A.D. 1172
to
A.D. 1537.

In the old collections of these relics preserved in Ireland, as in those elsewhere, some very strange and extraordinary articles were included. In a catalogue, for instance, of such treasures, which belonged to Christ Church, Dublin, in the fourteenth century, we find enumerated among a host of other things almost equally singular and remarkable, "the image of our Lord Jesus Christ, crucified, which is said twice to have uttered words;" "some of the milk of the Blessed Virgin Mary;" "a thorn of the crown of our Lord Jesus Christ," and a part "of the manger of the Lord."† (some curious specimens of which are enumerated.)

The extravagant degree of honour which was put upon the state of celibacy, beyond what is attributed to it in Holy Scripture, affords us another instance of the mischievous errors received into the popular religion of the times of which we now treat. The abuse alluded to was indeed one whose origin was to be traced (as we have already seen) to a much earlier period; and some have gone so far as to think that in the seventh century the monks had multiplied to such an extent as to be equal in number to all Corruption of the monastic institute.

* Lanigan iii. 425, 426.

† The catalogue in which these articles occur, is contained in a MS. of the fourteenth century, in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, quoted in Bishop Mant's History, vol. i. pp. 77, seqq.

A.D. 1172
to
A.D. 1237.

the other inhabitants of the kingdom. The ancient monks however—those for instance who lived in the seventh century in the monasteries founded by Columba, Aidan, Colman, &c.—were men of irreproachable and exemplary lives, who occupied themselves chiefly in fasting and prayer, and the study of the Word of God, and in useful manual and literary toils, to the great benefit of their fellowmen. But the monks of after times exhibited a sad state of degeneracy from those ancient models to which we have just referred. Instead of being devoted to the cultivation of holiness, and the spiritual improvement of themselves and those around them, they became infected with a worldly spirit; their discipline was relaxed; their habits and characters changed; they were no longer constant as before in *labours*, in *watchings*, in *fastings*; and as they began more and more to neglect the seclusion and meditation to which their predecessors had been accustomed, and to busy themselves more and more with the ordinary secular pursuits and amusements of the world, they also began in the same proportion to be more deeply contaminated with the vices and gross sins which prevailed among the rest of mankind.

Rise and
habits of the
mendicant
orders;

In the thirteenth century arose the different orders of mendicants or begging friars, who professed to have no goods whatever of their

own, but to live on the alms of the charitable; A.D. 1172
to
A.D. 1537.
counting it a high point of sanctity to live by
begging of other mens' bread, if the course they
took could rightly be called begging, for it was
rather a system of extortion by force, with which
they harrassed all persons from whom they could
hope to extract any thing; so that the celebrated
Richard Fitz-Ralph, archbishop of Armagh,
(afterwards known by the name of St. Richard
of Dundalk,) attacked them fiercely before the
pope himself and his cardinals, (at Avignon, in
A.D. 1357,) objecting to their faces, "that scarce
could any great or mean man of the clergy or
laity eat his meat, but such kind of beggars
would be at his elbow; not like other poor folks,
humbly craving alms at the gate or door, (as
Francis did command and teach them in his
testament,) by begging, but without shame in-
truding themselves into courts or houses, and
lodging there; where without any inviting at
all, they eat and drink what they can find among
them; and not content with that, carry away
with them either wheat, or meal, or bread, or
flesh, or cheeses, although there were but two in
a house, in a kind of extorting manner, there
being none that can deny them, unless he would
cast away natural shame."*

*Fitz-Ralph's
description
of them.
A.D. 1357.*

* Rich. Armachanus in *Defensorio Curatorum*, pp. 56, 57, Ed. Paris. an. 1625; Usher's *Rein. of A. L.*, ch. vi. For more about Fitz-Ralph, see chap. v. inf.

A.D. 1172

to

A.D. 1537.

Such is the contrast between the ancient monks of Ireland, and some of those who occupied their places at the time when Romanism flourished here unopposed; and such the description, given by an archbishop of the Church in those days, of the character of the men who, under the pope's special patronage, presumptuously and unceasingly interfered with the authority of the clergy of the Church, and persecuted them and the laity alike with their shameless effrontery and barefaced extortions.

Private
masses for
the dead;

Private masses, or masses celebrated by the priest alone for the benefit of the dead, and in which the living had no participation, formed another of the abuses of the times now treated of, and had become the source of large revenues to the clergy, by reason of the donations and bequests given for the perpetual maintenance of these expiatory ceremonies. Of the countless instances of this which might be adduced, a single one may suffice for illustration here. We are told that John Swayn, archbishop of Armagh, having founded a chapel and chantry, dedicated to St. Anne, in St. Peter's Church, Drogheda, early in the fifteenth century, John May, one of his successors, soon afterwards "annexed a large portion of the archiepiscopal tithes to the chapel, in pure alms, for ever, as a compensation for a greater number of priests to pray perpetually

for his soul, and the souls of his predecessors and successors, and of all the benefactors to the same church."*

A.D. 1172
to
A.D. 1537.

For these numerous masses for the dead which thus came into practice, a single altar in the place of worship was not sufficient, but it was found necessary to erect several in the same church for their celebration. And several masses would thus frequently be performed under the same roof and at the same time. So there were in the church of Galway, before the Reformation, the following fourteen chapels and altars:—"1, the high altar of St. Nicholas in the choir; 2, the altar of Jesus Christ, in the chapel of Christ Judging; 3, the altar of St. Michael, in the chapel of the Guardian Angels; 4, the altar of St. Mary Major, in the ancient chapel of the Lynches; 5, the altar of the Blessed Mary, in the new and great chapel of the Blessed Mary, under the title of the Blessed Mary, Mother of God; 6, the altar of St. James; 7, the altar of St. Catherine, in her gilt chapel; 8, the altar of St. John the Baptist, joined to the column of the pulpit; 9, the altar of St. Brigid; 10, the altar of St. Martin; 11, the altar of the Blessed Sacrament, in the chapel dedicated to it; 12, the altar of St. Anne, in her chapel; 13, the altar of St. Patrick, in his chapel, originally

and multiplication of altars connected with them;

* Ware's Bishops, p. 66.

A.D. 1173
 to
 A.D. 1537.

dedicated to him; 14, the altar of the Holy Trinity, in its chapel," i.e. in all, one chapel and altar, in honour of the Holy Trinity; one in honour of our Lord Jesus Christ, and twelve others in honour of created beings, including St. Michael and the Blessed Sacrament.*

Superstitious use of the festivals of the Church:

Another mode in which Almighty God was dishonoured in those days was, in the superstitious manner of observing the times and seasons then held sacred among the people. For while the festivals of the several patron saints were solemnly observed, small regard was on the other hand paid to the Lord's day, that being selected in several places for the holding of public markets, and on occasion for other like matters of secular business.†

and abuse of the power of excommunication,

of which there were two kinds;

The abuse of the power of excommunication in the times of which we speak, was another mark of the degenerate state of religion as then existing. We should observe that this mode of punishing offences was of two sorts, the lesser and the greater. The effect of the less was to separate the subjects of it from all the sacraments of the Church, until they were absolved of their offences. The greater was much more formidable, and not only had the effect of separating real or supposed offenders "from all holy Church, and

* Archdall, p. 479. † Cox's *History of Ireland*, Ed. 1686, vol. 1. p. 103. Mant, vol. 1. p. 101.

also from the company of all Christian folk," but was likewise considered to cut men off from God, so as "never to be saved by the passion of Christ, nor to be holpen by the sacraments that be done in holy Church, nor to have part with any Christian man."*

A.D. 1172

to
A.D. 1537.

And both these forms of excommunication were constantly made use of, not only for the correction of such serious offences against religion and morality as might justify the infliction of a severe punishment, but often also for the gratification of personal revenge or avarice, and to such an extent as to comprehend the innocent with the guilty. An interdict, or the excommunication of an entire district or province was of less frequent occurrence, but was at times made use of, as appears from different instances recorded by our writers. While an interdict lasted, the district proclaimed as included in it was cut off from all the use of Church rites; no mass, no marriages, no prayers were allowed there; but the churches were closed against the living, and the "corpses of the dead were buried, like dogs, in the roads and ditches, without prayers or ministry of priests."† How heavily such a sentence must have afflicted men that regarded prayers for the dead as so needful

both frequently misapplied to unholy purposes.

Nature and effects of an interdict.

* Staveley's *History of Churches in England*, 1712, pp. 235, 236; Mant, i. 28, 29.

† Matt. Paris. *Hist. Angl.* an 1208, quoted in Fuller, *Ch. Hist. of Britain*, Book iii. ad an. 1207.

A.D. 1173 a help to their redemption and salvation, we
 to
 A. D. 1537. may well judge.

To dwell further on the superstitions of the Anglo-Roman period of the Irish Church would be impossible in a work of the present limits. In larger books on our ecclesiastical history the reader will find abundance of curious matter connected with the subject, illustrated with examples of the legends, miracles, penances, processions in honour of the sacred host and relics, reverence for ancient crosses, and other objects of superstitious adoration, pilgrimages, indulgences, dramatic representations of Scripture events, and other such abuses of the same period, a more detailed account of which, want of space has obliged us to exclude from this work.

Moral character of the clergy of this period.

As to the state of the clergy during the same period with regard to their information and piety, it may be estimated in some degree by the state of religion under their influence, as here described. Ignorance and immorality had indeed become too generally prevalent among them; nor are the exceptions which occur in our records to brighten and cheer the clouded scene, remarkable either for their brilliancy, or their number. The unhappy act which enforced the necessity of celibacy on the clergy, led naturally in Ireland to the same evil consequences as in other places. And it is recorded that so early

as in A.D. 1179 the leaven of immorality had so far vitiated the character of the Irish clergy, that at that time Laurence O'Toole, archbishop of Dublin, found it necessary, as we are told, to be "very strict against such of them as were guilty of incontinence; and it is said that he sent 140 of them, who were convicted of that crime, to Rome, to look for absolution there, although he did not want power to absolve them himself." The Romish historian who makes the statement, adds, that "this was a scandal of a new kind in Ireland, and was chiefly caused by the bad conduct and example of the adventuring and fighting sort of clergymen, that had for some years back flocked over to this country from England and Wales."* For this statement there appears to be some ground; but as the point in question will occur to our notice again in the next chapter, we need not enlarge on it here. It is possible however that the 140 convicts who were by order of Archbishop Laurence to be transported to Rome for absolution, may have been guilty of no other crime than that of private

A.D. 1172
to
A. D. 1687.

* In this part of his history Dr. Lanigan, having given what he calls "a sample of the hopeful kind of ecclesiastics who came over to Ireland with Strongbow and others," and who at times fought in their armies, observes that "such were the missionaries who, according to the wish of Adrian IV., were to establish pure religion and sound ecclesiastical discipline in Ireland."—*Ec. Hist.* iv. 242. We are to remember however that there were military clergymen in Ireland before the coming of the English. *Vid.* pp. 365, 366, *sup.*

A.D. 1172

to

A.D. 1537.

marrying, a remedy which, though contrary to their professed vows, many of the clergy of those times were wont to have recourse to, in consequence of being prohibited from the use of open and honourable wedlock. In the sixteenth century the profligate immorality of the clergy had increased to a shameful extent, and the descendants of unchaste and unmarried abbots, priors, deans, and other prelates, often obtained by corrupt means, the possession of the benefices and dignities of the Church, to the destruction of religion, and the scandalizing of all honest and orderly Christians.*

Their general ignorance, and especially in regard to the Word of God.

Of the state of learning among the clergy in the period under consideration, something must now be said. They were no longer conspicuous, as the clergy of Ireland in earlier times had been, for superior intelligence and information in religious or secular knowledge; their native schools of learning were no longer famous throughout Europe; they were no more distinguished as a people eminent for their acquaintance with God's Word; but on the contrary, they had become, after three or four centuries' training and superintendence of the Church of Rome and her adherents, so grossly ignorant and uninformed, that at the period immediately before the British Reformation, the Irish priests themselves were

* Mant, I. 24, 36.

“not able to say mass, or pronounce the words, they not knowing what they themselves say in the Roman tongue.”* Sixty years earlier an Irish parliament, in ratifying the grant of certain tithes to one James Maddock, who was studying at the University of Oxford, in order to support him there until he should be fitted to undertake the work of the ministry in Ireland, alleged as the reason for their confirmation of the grant, that “there are [A.D. 1475] but few in this land who are able to teach or preach the Word of God;” a statement which is confirmed and enlarged upon in a curious passage of an old writer who lived at that period, and whose words in the passage alluded to are these:—
 “Amongst the many causes of the mysseorder of the land, there is no archebyssshop, ne byssshop, abbot ne pryor, parson ne vycar, ne any other person of the Church, high or low, that useth to preache the Worde of Godde, saveing the poor fryers beggers.”†

Such being the character of the clergy, and such the neglect of the Word of God in those

* Mant, l. 36, where the authority given is Robert Ware's *Reformation of the Church of Ireland*.

† *Statute of Kilkenny*, in vol. II. of *Tracts relating to Ireland*, printed for the Irish Archaeological Society, p. 47, not.; and Appendix, No. I. p. 129, note, ib.; also Leland's *Hist. of Ireland*, vol. II. p. 97, note; where will be found (under A.D. 1493) a description of the Tract on the affairs of Ireland, by “Master Pandarus,” from which the passage here quoted is taken.

A.D. 1172
to
A.D. 1537.

Papal
encroach-
ments not
entirely un-
resisted in
the times
here under
considera-
tion.

evil days, we need not wonder if the people did greatly err, and adopt many false views of religious truth. It "was inaccessible to them at its source in the Holy Scripture; and in its transmission through the channels of ecclesiastical rites and ceremonies, and ministerial instruction, it had for the most part, lost its primitive and essential character; so that the spiritual worship of God, and belief in the Gospel of his blessed Son, and corresponding holiness and purity of life, were well nigh superseded and obliterated by fabulous legends and superstitions, and unedifying observances."*

So fared the Church of Ireland in the days when Romanism in its full extent was embraced and cherished by her lawful pastors. Even then however, the authority of the pope was not by any means allowed to have uncontrolled sway in Ireland. Even then there was a powerful resistance offered to the meddling interference of the see of Rome in matters of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the Church of this country; and that by persons who did not at all object to any of the general doctrines of the Church of Rome. This was a state of things which might easily have been anticipated from observing the manner in which the influence of Rome was first established in Ireland. For as that had been through the

* Mant, I. 102.

instrumentality of England, it was naturally to be expected that the people of that country would be desirous to introduce here just the same general views on matters connected with religion, as prevailed in their own land. And as the undue interference of the pope was often met there by a strenuous and determined opposition, even in the ages before the Reformation, it was but natural that when the system of the Roman Church as received in England was admitted into Ireland also, the same counteracting influence should be transplanted with it into this country, so as to generate among some at least of the Irish adherents of the Roman communion, a spirit of liberty and independence similar to that which in the neighbouring isle often successfully resisted the more extravagant claims of Romish cupidity and ambition.

The general observations contained in this and the preceding chapter will, it is hoped, enable the reader to understand better the part of our history which follows, and which may now be resumed in historical order at the place where it was interrupted by this partial digression.

A.D. 1172

to

A.D. 1537.

CHAP. III.

PROCEEDINGS OF CARDINAL VIVIAN, PAPAL LEGATE, IN IRELAND.—
 ACTS OF JOHN CUMIN, FIRST ENGLISH ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.—
 SYNOD OF DUBLIN HELD BY HIM.—SYNOD OF NEWTOWN, TRIM.—
 SCANDALOUS CONDUCT OF MEMBERS OF THE HIERARCHY ON
 VARIOUS OCCASIONS.

A. D. 1177. **KING** Henry II. on hearing of the death of Earl Strongbow, sent over into Ireland as his deputy or lieutenant, William Fitz-Aldelm, and together with him, John de Courcy, Robert Fitz-Stephen, and Milo de Cogan, who were to act under him.* John de Courcy, a man of very great courage and ability, was the conqueror of the eastern part of Ulster, who invaded that part of Ireland in 1177, and took possession of its capital, Downpatrick. Cardinal Vivian, the pope's legate, happening to be then at Downpatrick, endeavoured to mediate a peace between De Courcy and Mac-Dunlevy, the prince of the district, on condition that the former should quit the country, and the latter agree at the same time to pay a tribute to King Henry II. De Courcy however refusing to consent to these terms, the Cardinal

Proceedings
 of Cardinal
 Vivian, the
 pope's le-
 gate, on the
 occasion.

* Ware, *Annals of Ireland*, ad an. 1176; and Lord Lyttleton's *History of King Henry II.*, Book v. quoted in Lenigan iv. 231.

stirred up Mac-Dunlevy to take arms in defence of his territories; whereupon the prince collected without delay a very large army, amounting, it is said, to 10,000 men, with whom he marched to attack the invaders; but was after a hard fought battle defeated. Cardinal Vivian took refuge in a church. He was however protected by De Courcy, who not only allowed him his liberty, but also released at his request Malachy, the bishop of Down, whom he had taken prisoner.*

A.D. 1177.

Pope Alexander III. it seems had sent this cardinal over to hear ecclesiastical causes in Scotland and the adjacent islands, and also in Ireland and in Norway. But on his arrival in England, King Henry sent to him the bishops of Winchester and Ely to demand of him by whose authority he had dared to come into his kingdom without a license from himself; for Henry, though civil to the pope, and glad to make use of his aid when occasion required, was notwithstanding very little inclined to allow him to encroach on his rights. The Cardinal, very much daunted by the inquiry of Henry's messengers, gave them an oath for his satisfaction, binding himself to do nothing during his legation contrary to the king's pleasure. And thus he ob-

* *Lan. iv.* 232, 233; *Hoved. Annal. ad an.* 1177. (pp. 316, 320, *Lond.* 1806.)

A.D. 1177.

He holds a council in Dublin, favourable to the English interest;

tained license for passing into Scotland with a safeconduct from the monarch, and freedom of expense until he had arrived at the Scottish territories.*

The Cardinal having arrived in Ireland, was pretty true to his oath, and not only did nothing to prejudice the king's interests, if we except his questionable dealings with Mac-Dunlevy, but promoted them as far as he was able. For after his release by De Courcy, he came to Dublin and held there a synod of bishops and abbots, in which setting forth Henry's right to Ireland in virtue of the pope's authority, he inculcated the necessity of obedience to him under pain of excommunication. He also allowed the foreigners liberty to take whatever victuals they might want out of the churches, into which as sanctuaries the Irish used to remove them, merely ordering that a reasonable price should be paid for them to the rectors of such churches.† An old author, after having made mention of the respectful manner in which Vivian was received by the prince and bishops of Down, goes on to give us the following curious account of the synod here referred to:—"He [*i.e.* the Cardinal] was showing about," says William of Newburgh,

* Hoved. *Annal.* at sup. † Giraldus, *Hib. Exp. Hib.* li. cap. 17. Ware, *Annals*, ad an. 1177; Lyttleton B. v. quoted in Lanigan iv. 224.

"the letter of the king of the English to his Irish authorities, in order that he might have the protection of their influence to enable him to discharge the duties of his legation among the barbarians. From such countenance deriving peace and security, he removed to Dublin; and behaving himself in a confident manner as acting in the name either of his lord the pope, or of the king of England, he summoned together the prelates and abbots of Ireland, and held a general council. But when he was inclined to carry on matters rather too freely after the Roman style, in the churches of a people of barbarous simplicity, the king's officers giving him to understand that he must either go his way, or else fight with them, he returned to Scotland, having secured but little Irish gold, a commodity for which he had felt a great thirst."* The king's ministers, it would seem, thought the Cardinal was inclined to go a-head a little too fast with his Roman customs, although they themselves were favourably inclined to them on the whole; and as for the Irish gold, they did not care probably to assist him in carrying off any of that, preferring as we may suppose to keep it in the country for themselves and for their friends.

A.D. 1177.

but is disappointed in his efforts to carry out all his Romish practices, and raise money for himself in Ireland.

* Guil. Neubrig. *De Reb. Angl. sui temporis*. Par. 1610. lib. iii. cap. 9, pp. 301, 302. William of Newburgh, born A.D. 1136, was educated in the monastery of Newburgh, and flourished to 1198.

A.D. 1177.

John, son of
Henry II.,
made king
of Ireland
by authority
of the Popes
Alexander
III. and
Urban.

In the same year, 1177, Henry II. having obtained a license from Pope Alexander III. to make whichever of his sons he should please king of Ireland, and to crown him as such; he thereupon constituted his son John king of this island, in presence of the bishops and peers of his kingdom,* which was approved and confirmed by Pope Alexander, and afterwards in 1186 by Pope Urban, who sent over two legates into Ireland, "to crown John, the king's son, there."†

John Cumin
the first
English
archbishop
of Dublin,
appointed
A.D. 1181.

The person appointed to fill the archbishopric of Dublin, (vacant as we have seen by the death of Laurence O'Toole,) was John Cumin, a learned and intelligent Englishman, who was on the recommendation of Henry II. elected to fill the vacant dignity, by some of the Dublin clergy, assembled for the purpose at Evesham in Worcestershire. His election took place in September, 1181, and in the following year, not having yet received priest's orders, he was admitted to them at Velletri; and afterwards consecrated archbishop in the same place by Pope Lucius III., on Palm Sunday, March 21, of the same year, 1182.‡ He did not however arrive in

Consecrated
and further
patronised
by Pope
Lucius III.,

* Rog. Hoved. *Annal.* ad an. 1177, p. 323. Joh. Bromton and Gualter. *Coventr.* in an. *Rein.* of A. I. ch. xi. † Hoved. *ann.* 1186 and 1187, quoted in *Rein.* of A. I. ib. Bened. *Petrob.* pp. 204, 206. ‡ Harris's *Ware, Archbishops of Dublin*, p. 314. *Lan.* iv. 261.

Dublin until the month of September, 1184, when he came, bringing with him for the augmentation of his dignity and authority, a bull from the above-named pope, dated the 13th of April, A.D. 1182, in which that pontiff, "following the authority of the sacred canons," decrees "that no archbishop or bishop do presume to hold meetings in the diocese of Dublin, or to treat of the ecclesiastical causes and affairs of the said diocese, without the consent of the archbishop of Dublin, if he be in his bishopric, unless an injunction to the contrary be issued by the Roman pontiff or his legate."* For in the earlier times of the Irish Church, the archbishop of Armagh, being the only primate or archbishop of Ireland, had been allowed the privilege, as the successor of St. Patrick, of visiting all the dioceses or districts of Ireland whenever he thought fit, and interfering in their internal concerns. Such ample jurisdiction was however not allowed by the canon law of the Church of Rome at the period now treated of, to primates any where.† The bull therefore granted to Archbishop Cumin had the two-fold effect of abolishing one of the old distinctions that had marked the ancient independence of the Irish Church, and at the same time elevating the see of Dublin to a greater degree of inde-

A.D. 1184.

who curtails
in his favour
the ancient
privileges of
the see of
Armagh.

* Ware, *ib.*, and *Annals*, ad an. 1181. Lan. iv. 257, seqq. † Lan. *ib.*

A.D. 1184. pence of Armagh. For Dublin was more likely to be completely under the combined influences of England and Rome than its northern rival, and it was also useful for the ends of those two great powers that it should so be. To increase therefore the dignity of the archbishopric of Dublin, as being more the pet see of the new authorities at this time, and to diminish at the same time the influence of the prelate whose rank and consequence depended more on old associations favourable to liberty and independence, was an object which the Anglo-Roman governors of Ireland would naturally promote.

The mischievous extent and evil effects of the practice of intruding Englishmen upon Irish benefices.

From the appointment of Archbishop Cumin, the first Englishman who presided over an Irish see, no Irishman was selected to fill the archbishopric of Dublin for nearly 500 years; the next native prelate of that diocese who appears in the list of its succession being Michael Boyle, who succeeded in A.D. 1663.* This policy, which excluded native Irishmen from such offices of trust in their own land, was similar to what the Norman conquerors had previously used towards the English in their own country; and it was, it must be confessed, most unjust and mischievous. For however it may have been the means,

* See the List of the Bishops and Archbishops of Dublin from the first regular establishment of that see to the present time, given in the Appendix, No. 17.

in some few instances, of introducing into Ireland, Englishmen eminent for holiness and learning, whose names must be remembered with veneration and love, as those of men worthy (as far as men could be) to preside over the Church in any country, yet the general effect of such a system was any thing but salutary; the instances where good resulted from it to the Irish Church being miserably few, while those of a contrary character were lamentably numerous: and the jealousy and contention to which it naturally gave rise being in themselves greater evils than any partial advantages of such a system could adequately compensate for. But the courts of England and Rome were too suspicious of the native Irish to allow them to exercise the chief influence, or fill the chief dignities of their own Church, and therefore "a few of the most important sees, of the richest abbacies, and probably of the inferior dignities in the Church were always filled by Englishmen."* This circumstance originated and fomented, hundreds of years before the Reformation, between persons who were equally in communion with Rome, such murderous feuds as have not perhaps been equalled in bitterness by any that have in later

A. D. 1184.

* *Phelan's Policy of the Church of Rome in Ireland*, p. 40, Milliken, Dublin, 1837.

A. D. 1185. times existed between professors of the reformed faith and their Romish adversaries.

Arrival of
Prince John
in Ireland.
A.D. 1185.

In sending over John Cumin into Ireland, the object of Henry II. was partly that the new prelate might prepare the way for the reception of his son John, who was shortly after to come over as king and lord of this island. The prince accordingly made his appearance in the following year, 1185, when he arrived with a large fleet and very considerable army at Waterford, on the 1st of April. On his landing "he was received in honourable style by John, archbishop of Dublin, and the other men of his father who had come over previously." * Several Irish chieftains of the neighbouring parts also waited on him at Waterford, congratulated him on his happy arrival, and acknowledged him as their lord. But John and his young nobles received them with derision, and some of these ill-mannered strangers went so far as to amuse themselves by pulling their beards, which, contrary to the Norman and English fashions of those days, they wore long and thick. But the insolence and extravagance of these new comers was disastrous to their cause, and the spirit of hostility raised against them by their ill-behaviour, obliged prince John to return home, after several unsuccessful battles, and the loss of a great part of his army. John de Courcy,

The imprudence of his party, and results.

* Hoved. in an. p. 359. Lan. iv. 262. Ware's *Annals*, &c.

being left as lord justice of Ireland, was the means of saving the English interest from impending ruin. Prince John had been accompanied on this occasion by his tutor and secretary, the famous Gerald Barry, commonly called Giraldus Cambrensis, a near relative of some of the first invaders of Ireland, and author of the famous work on its conquest by the English.

A. D. 1186.

Giraldus
Cambrensis
one of his
followers on
this occa-
sion.

In the year 1186 Archbishop Cumin held a provincial synod in Dublin, in the Church of the Holy Trinity, which commenced sitting on the fourth Sunday in Lent, and enacted various canons that are still extant.* On the first day of the synod the archbishop himself preached on the sacraments, one great object of the meeting being to promote what were considered proper views with regard to them, and the celebration of them with due reverence and decorum. On the second day Albin O'Mulloy, abbot of Baltinglass, made a long discourse on the continency of clergymen, in which he inveighed severely against the English and Welsh clergy that had come over to Ireland, as corrupting by their ill examples the purity of the native clergy. Whereupon, we are told, several of the foreign clergy, settled in Wexford, and who were present in the synod, began to accuse each other before the

Proceedings
of the Synod
of Dublin,
under Abp.
Cumin.
A.D. 1186.

* Harris's *Ware, Archbishop of Dublin*, ut sup. Giraldus *De rebus a se gestis*, par. II. cap. 13. *lan.* iv. 264.

A. D. 1166.

Observations of Giraldus Cambrensis on the character of the Irish clergy of this time.

whole assembly, of having wives and concubines, appealing on the spot to witnesses for the truth of their assertions and mutual recriminations. Such as were found guilty, the archbishop immediately suspended from their benefices and ecclesiastical functions.* On the third day of the synod Gerald Barry, having been called upon by the archbishop to speak, delivered a long sermon, in which he dilated much on the conduct of the Irish clergy, and particularly the bishops, introducing also censures upon the nation at large. In his general description however of the ministers of the Church in Ireland he speaks of them very favourably. "The clergy," says he, "of this country are commendable enough for their attention to religion; and among the several virtues in which they excel, the prerogative of chastity is striking and pre-eminent. Likewise they attend vigilantly to their psalms and hours, to reading and prayer, and remaining within the precincts of the churches, they neglect not the celebration of the divine offices to which they have been appointed to attend. In abstinence also and self-restraint in the use of food, they practise themselves in no ordinary manner, so that the greatest part of them pro-

* Giraldus lib. "The guilty clergymen," says Dr. Lanigan, "were a sample of the missionaries, who, as Adrian IV. and Alexander III. had flattered themselves, were under the auspices of Henry II. to instruct and reform the people of Ireland!"—*McC. Hist.* iv. 267.

long their fasting even to the approach of dusk, until they have completed all the offices of the hours for the day.* A. D. 1186.

Of the canons passed at this synod we may now give a brief account. They are twenty in number. The first ten relate almost wholly to the sacraments of the Holy Communion and Baptism, and make provisions relative to the elements, vessels, vestments, &c., that were to be used in the celebration of them. The first, for example, "prohibits priests from celebrating mass on a wooden table (or altar) according to the usage of Ireland;" and enjoins that "in all monasteries and baptismal churches altars should be made of stone;" and that generally there should be at least a square plate of polished stone, "broad enough to contain five crosses, and also to bear the foot of the largest chalice, fixed in the middle of the altar, where Christ's body is consecrated," whatever the material of the altar itself might be. On this canon Dr. Lanigan remarks, "that before the time of Constantine the Great, the Christian altars or holy tables were generally made of wood." And he adds that "it is not therefore to be wondered at that the Irish made their altars of wood from the beginning, and that they continued to do so

Account of the canons passed in this synod.

Mass ordered to be celebrated on a stone altar,

the Irish having hitherto used wooden tables, from reverence for St. Patrick.

* Giraldu, ut sup. and *Topogr. Hib.* Dist. iii. capp. 27—30.

A. D. 1186. in consequence of their steady attachment to the practices received from St. Patrick.*

Important
amplifica-
tion of the
tithe laws,
by a canon
of this
synod.

The last ten canons of the synod before us contain regulations relating to burial, ordination, the enforcement of chastity, payment of tithes, &c. Their general tendency appears to be chiefly to secure or advance the rights of the clergy, and the dignity of their character among the people. One for instance forbids lay people "to presume to bury their dead without the presence of a priest." Another denounces with an anathema and perpetual deprivation, the offence of accepting an appointment to an ecclesiastical benefice from a lay patron. A third (which was, as Dr. Lanigan candidly allows,† "a plentiful sweeping commentary, in favour of the clergy, on the third of the Synod of Cashel,") provides "that tithes be paid to the mother churches out of provisions, hay, the young of animals, flax, wool, gardens, orchards, and out of all things that grow and renew yearly, under pain of an anathema after the third monition; and that those who continue obstinate in refusing to pay, shall be obliged to pay the more punctually for the future." These canons were not long after confirmed by Pope Urban III.

Erection of
St. Patrick's
Church,
Dublin.
A.D. 1190?

In or about A.D. 1190, Archbishop Cumín erected in the south suburbs of Dublin the col-

* Ec. Hist. iv. 272.

† Ib. 274.

legiate Church of St. Patrick, which afterwards became a cathedral, during the incumbency of his successor, Henry de Loundres.*

A. D. 1197.

One other proceeding of this archbishop we may notice here before taking leave of his name in this history. Hamo de Valoniis, or de Valois, whom Prince John had appointed lord deputy of Ireland, doing what he could to enrich himself, had seized on some lands which were claimed as part of the property of the see of Dublin; whereupon the archbishop, vehemently indignant at the alleged injury done to his rights, excommunicated De Valois and all the other members of the administration; and not content with this vengeance upon the transgressors, laid his unoffending city and diocese under an interdict. To indicate that the passion of Christ had been renewed in the indignity offered to his minister; he caused the crucifixes of the cathedral to be laid prostrate on the ground, with crowns of thorns on the heads of the images; and one of the figures was pointed out as the miraculous representative of the suffering Redeemer, the face inflamed, the eyes dropping tears, the body bathed in sweat, and the side pouring forth blood and water. Besides making this scandalous exhibition, he also removed from the church the

An interdict laid on the diocese of Dublin by Archbishop Cumin. A.D. 1197.

* Ware, *Annals*, ad an. 1190. quoted in *Lan.* iv. 320.

A. D. 1197. books, chalices, images, &c., belonging to it. Hamo de Valois, having been removed from the office of deputy in 1198, was afterwards induced to compensate for his injuries to the see of Dublin, by a donation of twenty ploughlands to Archbishop Cumin and his successors.*

Curious transaction of this period, connected with the monastery of Hy. A.D. 1203.

The monastery of Hy, much as it had suffered from the ravages of the Danes, and much as it had been reduced in dignity and importance, still continued to exist as an Irish establishment in the times of which we now speak. This appears from a curious transaction which occurred in connection with it in the year 1203. One Kellach erected a monastery there in opposition to the elders of the place, upon which the clergy of the north of Ireland held a meeting which was attended by the bishops of Derry and Raphoe, and other prelates and ecclesiastics. And after the said meeting they all went to Hy, demolished the new monastery, and set over the abbey one Amalgaid, who had been previously abbot of Derry.† Kellach it seems had been abbot, and was deposed on this occasion; though what was his offence, or what the objectionable point in his new monastery, we are not told. Dr. Lanigan however conjectures, not improbably, that "his intention was to intro-

* Hoved. ad an. 1197. Lan. iv. 332. Ware's *Annals* in an. cod.

† Colgan Tr. Th. p. 801. Lan. iv. 347.

duce a new order into the island, perhaps of Cisterians or Augustin canons, for both of which there was a great predilection in Ireland; or it may be supposed [though with less appearance of probability] that his only view was to construct a new edifice for the Columbian monks, more splendid and commodious than the old monastery, and on a different site, which the monks objected to on account of their attachment to every thing connected with the memory of St. Columba."* A. D. 1203. It was not indeed natural to suppose that the various changes suggested by the religious taste which at this time became fashionable, could in every instance be introduced without a struggle of opposition.

About the year 1210 occurred one of those scenes of disgraceful outrage in which the rulers of the Church unhappily bore too often a conspicuous part. A most scandalous contention was carried on about this time between two rival prelates, of Waterford and Lismore, concerning certain lands alleged by each to be the property of his see. The affair was referred to commissioners appointed by the pope; but they having condemned the bishop of Waterford, that prelate, enraged at their decision, formed a plot for seizing the bishop of Lismore; and accordingly having besieged him in his cathedral, where he was

Scandalous fighting between the bishops of Waterford and Lismore.
A. D. 1210.

* Lanigan, *ib.*

A. D. 1210. engaged at divine service, he both robbed the church of its property, and hurried away the bishop from place to place, until he cast him into a dungeon of Dungarvan castle, loaded with irons. Seven weeks after, the bishop of Lismore, having been cruelly macerated with hunger and thirst, escaped from prison; but was again surprised and seized by the bishop of Waterford's clerk, who drew a sword and attempted to cut off his head. These and other outrages led to a sentence of excommunication against the bishop of Waterford and his clergy, who were aiding and abetting him in his villanies.*

Synod of
Newtown,
Trim.
A.D. 1216.

Among the alterations introduced into the state of the Irish Church in the twelfth century, one of considerable importance already alluded to, was the reduction of the number of bishoprics, as ordered by the Synod of Kells. The method in which this enactment was carried into execution is illustrated by the records which remain to us of a synod held in A.D. 1216, by Simon Rochfort, bishop of Meath, in the cathedral church of SS. Peter and Paul, Newtown, Trim, which commence as follows:—†

Reduction
of the num-
ber of sees
in Ireland
by papal
authority;

“Whereas Lord John Paparo, cardinal presbyter of the title of *S. Laurentius in Damaso*, legate in Ireland of our lord the supreme pontiff,

* Ware's *Bishops*, p. 528.
547. Lond. 1737.

† Wilkin's *Concil.* tom. i. p.

Eugenius III., did, in the general synod held at Kells, in Meath, in the year of grace 1152, ordain, among other salutary constitutions then and there made, that on the death of village bishops, and bishops of the smaller sees in Ireland, there should be chosen to succeed in their stead archpresbyters, to be appointed by the diocesans, who are to have the charge of the clergy and people within their proper districts; and that their sees should be erected into so many heads of rural deaneries; we therefore, the bishop above-named, in compliance with his enactment, do appoint and ordain as follows:—

A. D. 1216.

and erection
of rural
deaneries in
their stead.

“I. First, that in the churches of Trim, Kells, Slane, Skryne, and Dunshaughlin, formerly bishops’ sees in Meath, but now heads of rural deaneries, the archpresbyters hereafter to be appointed, shall not only be constantly and personally resident therein, but shall also attend to the charge of the clergy and people within the limits of the said deaneries.”

Then follow eleven other enactments relative to the mode of appointment, conduct, authority, &c., of the aforesaid archpresbyters. Here therefore we see five bishoprics in one diocese reduced to rural deaneries; nor are these the only ancient sees comprehended in the present one of Meath. For besides Clonmacnoise, now included in it, several others which had at least a temporary

Object of
this pro-
ceeding.

A.D. 1216.

existence, are at present merged in it. This mode of uniting the smaller sees to form large ones, had the twofold effect of providing a more comfortable maintenance for the prelates, (a thing needful perhaps in some instances, considering the turbulence of bygone times, which may have so impoverished the smaller ecclesiastical districts as to render them inadequate to the support of single bishops for each,) and at the same time adding to the influence and authority of those that were allowed to remain, enabling them to control and regulate more completely as they might wish, the entire body and system of the Irish Church. The busy activity of the prelates of the country was well suited for keeping alive in them a spirit of independence. The diminishing of their numbers was naturally calculated to act as check upon this disposition on their part; and the circumstance that they were indebted so entirely to the influence of England or of Rome for their appointment, was equally adapted to make them fit instruments in the hands of those respective powers for the support and extension of such influence in Ireland.

First papal
appoint-
ment to the
archbishop-
ric of Ar-
magh.
A.D. 1202.

The progress of the pope's power in Ireland in the twelfth century had been so rapid and successful, that at the beginning of the thirteenth he was enabled for the first time to secure to himself the power of appointing to an Irish arch-

bishopric, and even to the chief one of the country. For the see of Armagh becoming vacant in 1201 by the death of Thomas O'Conor, a dispute arose about the succession between several candidates—Simon Rochfort, bishop of Meath, Ralph le Petit, archdeacon of Meath, and Humphrey de Tickhull, each pretending that he himself was the candidate on whom the choice of the electors had fallen. The king decided in favour of Tickhull, on the 4th of May, 1202; and at the close of the same year Tickhull dying, he confirmed the election of Ralph le Petit. But the pope meanwhile had interfered, by declaring another candidate, Eugene Mac Gillivider, archbishop. King John was at first greatly incensed by this usurpation of his authority, and strenuously resisted the appointment of Eugene. But the latter having by his Irish extraction and personal good qualities, gained the good wishes of the clergy and people, the weak and venal monarch was at length induced, partly by means of a bribe of money, to confirm his appointment.*

From this period it became the rule in Ireland, as in England, that diocesan chapters should not be allowed to elect new bishops without the sanction and license of the king of England; and as

Mode of settling episcopal appointments, revenues, &c., after this period.

* Ware's *Bishops*, pp. 62, 64. See the brief account of the succession of prelates in the see of Armagh from the earliest period, in the Appendix to the present work, No. xviii.

A.D. 1206.

in disputed cases, such as the one just referred to, the pope often interfered, and took upon him to name bishops without any elections, and even so as to nullify canonical elections already made, there were thus henceforth three different parties concerned in the appointment of a bishop—the king, the chapter, and the pope. The power usurped by the pope however could affect only that portion of the episcopal income which was called the spiritualties of the see, namely, those profits which the bishop received as bishop, and not as a baron of parliament, such as visitation, ordination, and institution dues. The crown still kept “the temporalities” or lay revenues; but as the pope endeavoured to wrench these also from the hands of the monarch, it became the constant practice for bishops at the time when they received their temporalities from the king, to renounce, by a solemn writing, all right to the same by virtue of any papal provision. The pope’s bishop, although in possession of the see, had but little for his subsistence, until he obtained by the king’s consent restitution to its temporalities.*

Extortions
of Henry de
Loundres,
archbishop
of Dublin.

In the year 1220 Henry de Loundres (or the Londoner, successor to John Cumin) being then archbishop of Dublin, a contention arose between the clergy and magistrates of that city concern-

* Ware, *Id.* and *Mant. Ch. Hist.* i. 10.

ing some exorbitant fees demanded by the former, which the magistrates and citizens refused to pay. The city was once again placed under an interdict, accompanied with special anathemas against the individual offenders. But the people having appealed to the lord deputy, and their case having been heard before the privy council, the clergy were triumphant on the occasion, and their adversaries reduced to a very absurd composition ; it being decreed that in cases of open scandal, such as that of opposition to the priesthood, a commutation in money should be made for the first offence ; that for the second the culprit should be cudgelled round the parish church ; for the third, the same discipline should be repeated publicly at the head of a procession ; and if the obstinacy proceeded farther, that he should be either disfranchised or cudgelled through the city.* The new ecclesiastical system it seems was not popular in Dublin, but supported as it was by the English power, the people were necessitated to submit to it.

An anecdote recorded of the person who was bishop of Ferns at the same period, exhibits a painful instance of the proud and unholy spirit by which many of the ecclesiastics of that day were animated. William Earl Marshal, who had married the heiress of Strongbow, and ac-

A. D. 1220.

Shocking anecdote of the contemporary bishop of Ferns.

* *Leland's History of Ireland*, l. 237. *Phelan's Policy*, sec. p. 26.

A.D. 1220. quired the dominion of Leinster, and who was known as the great Earl of Pembroke, had died in 1219, under sentence of excommunication from the prelate in question, for having seized on two manors belonging to his see. The next heir refusing to restore them, the bishop appeared before the king to assert his claim. Being ordered to pronounce an absolution at the earl's tomb, he attended the king thither, and with judicial solemnity pronounced these words—"O William, thou that liest fast bound in the chains of excommunication, if what thou hast injuriously taken away be restored, by the king or thy heir, or any of thy friends, with competent satisfaction, I absolve thee. Otherwise, I ratify the sentence, that being bound in thy sins, thou mayest remain damned in hell for ever." The heir would not surrender the disputed manors, and the bishop confirmed his malediction. Some time after, the male line of the family having become extinct, it was carefully pointed out to the common people how the curse of God had followed the imprecation of his minister. Well may we ask, with an eloquent writer who records this story—
 Could the bishop have believed in the efficacy of his shocking and anti-christian anathema? *

Further instances of the ambitious rapacity of Henry de Loundres.

Henry de Loundres, the archbishop of Dublin above named, although in some points a re-

* Leland and Phelan, *ib.*

spectable prelate, and of large influence, was yet guilty of some acts which did not reflect much lustre on his character, or increase much his popularity in this country. Having been appointed lord justice of Ireland, and also pope's legate about the same time, he so plagued the people, (and at the same time interfered with the rights of the crown,) by extending the jurisdiction of the spiritual courts, and drawing civil causes into them, that on the complaint of the citizens of Dublin a writ was issued to prohibit him from such practices in future, with threats of severe penalties for disobedience.* This same prelate was nicknamed by the Irish people "scorch-villain" and "burnbill," because on one occasion having summoned his tenants together, under the pretext of examining their leases, in order to see by what sort of tenure each occupant held, he no sooner obtained possession of the deeds than he burned them before their faces, causing them either to renew their tenures, or else hold at will.†

A.D. 1220.

The spirit of jealousy and strife which existed about this time between the clergy of the English race in Ireland, and those who sympathised more fully with the Irish people, may be illustrated by reference to a transaction worthy of our notice, which occurred in or about A.D. 1250.

Dissensions between the English and Irish ecclesiastics.

* Ware's *Bishops*, p. 319. † Campion's *History of Ireland*, c. iii.

A. D. 1250.

The latter
crushed by
the pope.
A.D. 1250.

Contest be-
tween F. de
Saundford,
archbishop
of Dublin,
and his peo-
ple.

The archbishops, bishops, and clergy of Ireland, who were of Irish birth, had in a synod enacted a decree, that no Englishman born should be admitted a canon in any of their churches. King Henry III. complained of this practice to the pope, who directed a bull to them, dated the 24th September, 1250, commanding them to rescind the said decree within a month ; and another bull to Luke, archbishop of Dublin, and to Jeoffrey Turvill, bishop of Ossory, giving them power, if the other prelates did not obey, to declare it void by his authority.* Thus the pope's authority was in this case, as usual, employed to assist the English power, and crush its opponents.

A few years after this proceeding, Fulk de Saundford, archbishop of Dublin, and his clergy, had a serious controversy with the mayor and citizens of the town about dues and offerings on Sundays and holidays, at marriages, purifications after childbirth, &c. The mayor and citizens in 1267 introduced a penal order that no citizen should make offerings more than four times in the year, &c.; against which order the archbishop's remonstrances proving ineffectual, "he by his ordinary authority promulgated the sentence of excommunication against them, and put the city under an interdict ; to strengthen which he had recourse to Cardinal Octobon, the pope's

* Ware's *Bishops*, p. 221.

legate, then at London, who on the 18th of February, 1267, sent orders to the bishops of Waterford and Lismore, to denounce by bell book and candle the mayor and citizens excommunicated in all public places within the city and province of Dublin.* A. D. 1267.

The annals of the reign of Edward I. have preserved a curious petition of a widow lady of English extraction, resident in Ireland, complaining of the cruelties which her family had suffered from an Irish prelate of this age. Her statement runs in the following terms:—"Margaret le Blunde, of Cashel, petitions our lord the king's grace, that she may have her inheritance which she recovered at Clonmel before the king's judges against David Mac Carwell, bishop of Cashel. *Item*, for the imprisonment of her grandfather and grandmother, whom he shut up and detained in prison until they perished by famine, because they sought redress for the death of their son, father of your petitioner, who had been killed by said bishop. *Item*, for the death of her six brothers and sisters, who were starved by said bishop, because he had their inheritance in his hands at the time he killed their father. It is to be noted that the said bishop has built

Horrible
atrocities
charged
upon David
MacCarwell
archbishop
of Cashel.

* The instrument containing the particulars of this proceeding, may be seen in the ancient Registry of the See of Dublin, entitled "*Crede mihi*, Fol. 101. a." Ware's *Bishops*, by Harris, p. 322.

A.D. 1276.

an abbey in the city of Cashel, which he fills with robbers, who murder the English and lay waste the country; and that when our lord the king's council examine into such offences, he passes sentence of excommunication upon them. *Item*, it is to be noted that the said Margaret has five times crossed the Irish sea. Wherefore she petitions for God's sake that the king's grace will have compassion, and that she may be permitted to take possession of her inheritance. It is further to be noted that the aforesaid bishop has been guilty of the death of many other Englishmen besides her father; and that the said Margaret has obtained many writs of our lord the king, but to no effect, by reason of the influence and bribery of the said bishop.*

The benefits
of English
law denied
to Irishmen
humbly
seeking
them from
Edward I.

If the enormities here described, or any thing approaching them, could be committed upon English persons, we need not wonder at any amount of misery and oppression which may have fallen to the lot of the native population, who were for the most part entirely destitute of the protection of the British laws. Attempts had been made indeed by King John and his son Henry III. to introduce the English laws into Ireland; but these efforts had been defeated by the interested policy of the ruling authorities of the country, who preferred leav-

* Leland, i. 234. *Phelan's Policy*, &c., p. 30.

ing the native Irish to be governed by their own old laws and customs, as having thus more power to persecute and oppress them. For as the king's courts were not open to them, if the blood of a father or brother were shed, his assassin had only to plead that the deceased was an Irishman, and he became at once secure from all human vengeance. In the reign of Edward I. some of these unfortunate native inhabitants, perceiving the advantages to be derived from the use of the British law, petitioned the king to admit them to its protection, and adopt them for his subjects. They even approached the throne with a bribe, and made an offer of a purse containing 8,000 marks, as an acknowledgement in return for the desired benefit. Twice they urged their appeal, and twice the king received it into favourable consideration; but evil influences prevailed, and the heartless rulers of the destinies of Ireland succeeded in defeating the good intentions of the king, and the just claims of an oppressed people.*

The violent and unruly spirit of the prelates of those times, already illustrated in these pages by various instances, is further strangely exemplified in a sort of ecclesiastical association or club, formed in the year 1291, among the bishops and clergy of the Irish Church. This associa-

A.D. 1290.

During conspiracy of the primate and other Irish prelates in A.D. 1291.

* Leland's History, l. 100, 223, 292, and Phelan, 31, seqq.

A.D. 1291.

tion, which was promoted and headed by the Primate Nicholas Mac Molissa, included also the other three archbishops, all the bishops, all the deans and chapters, and the other orders and degrees of the clergy. And these all unanimously engaged in a confederacy, not only under their hands and seals, but confirmed moreover by the sanction of an oath, wherein they swore first, that if they or any of them, their churches, rights, jurisdictions, liberties, or customs, should by any lay power or jurisdiction whatever, be impeded, resisted, or grieved, they would at their common expense, in proportion to their respective incomes, support, maintain, and defend each other in all courts, and before all judges, either ecclesiastical or secular. Secondly, that if any of their messengers, proctors, or the executors of their orders, should suffer any loss or damage in the execution of their business, by any lay power or jurisdiction, they would amply, and without delay, make up to them all such losses. Other articles of the agreement pledged them to mutual co-operation in enforcing sentences of excommunication, and enacted heavy penalties and forfeits against such as should be negligent in carrying out the terms of the agreement, they engaging and promising to complain of such offenders to the pope.*

* Ware's *Bishops*, p. 70. Mant. 1. 16.

CHAP. IV.

ATTEMPTS TO FOUND AN IRISH UNIVERSITY.—REBELLION OF E. BRUCE.—COMPLAINT OF THE IRISH TO POPE JOHN XXII.—EXAMPLES OF TORTURE OF HERETICS IN IRELAND.

THE decay of learning in Ireland, and the want of means to promote its revival, or to provide a competently educated clergy, began early in the fourteenth century to attract the attention of some that were interested for the welfare of the country. Of these John Lech, archbishop of Dublin, deserves particular notice for the efforts which he made in A.D. 1310 towards founding an university in the metropolis. He procured a bull for the purpose from Pope Clement V., dated July 10, 1311; but his own death in A.D. 1313, before the project had been matured, prevented its execution.* Some years after, in A.D. 1320, the plan was adopted anew by his successor, Alexander de Bicknor, who procured a confirmation of it from Pope John XXII. The institution was subsequently patronised by King Edward III., who established a divinity lecture in it; but from want of means, or some

A. D. 1310.
Early at-
tempts to
found a
university
in Dublin.

* Ware's *Bishops*, p. 330.

A. D. 1310. other unrecorded cause, it gradually came to nothing, although some evidence remains of its having been still in existence in the time of King Henry VIII.*

Contest between the prelates of Armagh and Dublin about carrying the cross erect.

But whatever credit may be due to Archbishop Lech for his efforts to promote the improvement of Ireland by the establishment of an university in Dublin, his reputation as a Christian bishop can gain little in our estimation, from the part which he took in a scandalous and unhappy controversy which prevailed for three or four centuries between the archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, as to the right of each to bear his cross erect in the province of the other. This controversy, which had existed in earlier times, but had been allayed in 1262, was revived in 1311 by Archbishop Lech; who relying on the support of the king, whose favourite and almoner he was, forbade the primate Walter Jorse to appear in the province of Dublin with that emblem of metropolitical dignity. The primate declined the contest, being awed in all probability by the king's power. But the dispute was renewed by his brother, Roland Jorse, who succeeded him in the primacy. The latter prelate having arrived at Howth the day after the Annunciation, in 1313, arose in the

* Ware's *Bishops*, ib. and *Antiq. of Ireland*, p. 37. Mason's *History of St. Patrick's Cathedral*, p. 101, Dublin, 1820.

night time, and by stealth erected his cross, and carried it in that position as far as the priory of Grace Dieu, within the province of Dublin, where some of the archbishop's family met him, and beating down his cross, drove him in confusion out of Leinster. This unworthy dispute was carried on with such fierceness, that on eleven different occasions in the course of twenty years, between 1429 and 1449, successive archbishops of Armagh having been summoned to appear at parliaments holden in the province of Leinster, made returns to the writs of summons, that they could not personally attend in consequence of this quarrel. And the same contest for precedency between the prelates of Armagh and Dublin, existed in a somewhat altered form even after the Reformation, both in the Irish Church, and in the new communion formed by the Romanists in Ireland at the beginning of the seventeenth century.*

A. D. 1313.

The successes of Robert Bruce in Scotland during the period at present under consideration, encouraged the discontented Irish of Ulster, who had always been least subject to the English power, to invite him over into their country in A.D. 1315, in the hope that he might be enabled to free them also from all subjugation to the yoke of England. Robert, not finding it con-

Edward
Bruce's re-
bellion and
its issue.
A.D. 1315.

* Ware's *Bishops*, pp. 74, seqq.

A. D. 1315.

venient to come over himself at that time, despatched his brother Edward Bruce instead, with 6,000 men for the accomplishment of the proposed undertaking. Edward accordingly made his appearance in the north of Ireland on the 15th of May, 1315, and having been strengthened by the co-operation of several Irish chieftains, and meeting with some successes, he became thereupon so elated as to allow himself to be crowned king of Ireland at Dundalk, in A.D. 1317. Afterwards, joined by many of the native princes and of the degenerate English, he advanced southward, barbarously ravaging the country, and spreading desolation as he went along. Finding Dublin too well prepared for him to venture an attack upon it, he proceeded with his troops through Leinster and part of Munster, as far as to Limerick, carrying fire and sword wheresoever they came, and marking their way by many acts of savage cruelty. A dreadful famine had however for some time been generally prevalent in the country, and this, aggravated by the ravages of the Scots, hastened in the end their own destruction. Reduced to the most frightful extremities, even to the necessity of feeding on the carcases of the slain, they were made to taste the bitter fruits of their own heartless outrages; until at length, in the decisive battle of Dundalk, where Edward Bruce

Battle of
Dundalk.
A.D. 1318.

lost his life, the Scottish invasion of Ireland was completely crushed, and no traces of it remained excepting the desolation and misery which it had spread through the country. A multitude of ecclesiastics, both prelates and inferior clergy, had joined in this rebellion, and revolted to the insurgent chieftains, denouncing the English as enemies to the Church and oppressors of the nation, and exhorting the populace to flock to the banner of Bruce.* The power of the Church of Rome, and of her most influential and active supporters in Ireland, was however on this occasion, as usual, employed entirely in favour of the English government, and to crush the insurgent forces and Irish people. Popes' bulls were fulminated against all the enemies of King Edward II. of England, and in these Robert Bruce and his brother Edward were denounced by name, as doomed, with all their followers, to the sentence of excommunication by bell, book, and candle. In the same dreadful sentence were also included the Irish clergy of every order who had preached with so much zeal to excite their countrymen to join in the insurrection, and the denunciations uttered against them, and addressed

A. D. 1318.

* Leland's *History of Ireland*, i. 266, 277, and the "*Lib. Clonmacnoise M.S.*" which with J. Fordun's *Scotichronicon*, form his chief original authorities for this part of our history. See also Phelan's *Policy*, pp. 41, seqq.; Lanigan's *Ec. Hist.* iv. 163.

A. D. 1318.

Complaint
of the Irish
to Pope
John XXII.

by the pope to the chief rulers of the Irish Church, were solemnly read, as we are told, at every mass within the English quarters.

This interference of the pope had been expected; and to guard against it the Irish who had united with the Scots had taken the precaution to despatch their agents to Rome, by whom they addressed to the reigning pontiff, John XXII., a very curious and interesting Appeal, complaining of the miserable state in which his predecessor, Pope Adrian IV., had placed them, by his grant of their country to the kings of England; and imploring the pope whom they address, to confirm their insurrection by the sanction of his authority, and not to allow the king of England and his people to trouble them any more as they had done in time past. Their Appeal is still extant, and although very long, yet considering how little is known about it compared with its great importance, it has been thought well to give the entire at full length from the original authority, in another part of this work.* Meanwhile a few samples of its contents will help to

* Vid. Appendix, No. xix., where this curious document is inserted from John Fordun's *Scotichronicon*, lib. xii. capp. 26, seqq., pp. 259, seqq., vol. II., Edinb. 1787. A MS. copy of the same Appeal is to be found in one of Archbishop Ussher's Manuscripts, in the MS. Library of Trinity College, Dublin, E. 3. 8. fol. 58. This MS. copy agrees pretty closely with the printed text. An imperfect copy, given by Mac Geoghagan, is reprinted at the end of Mr. Carew's *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*. It omits a very large portion at the end of the Appeal.

throw much additional light on the part of our history with which we are at present engaged. A.D. 1315.

The document here spoken of is addressed to Pope John XXII., by "Donald O'Neyl, king of Ulster, and rightful hæreditary successor to the throne of all Ireland, and the princes and nobles of the said land, as well as the Irish people" at large. It commences by first describing the long succession of independent native princes from whom Donald was descended, who had ruled in Ireland, in great power and glory, for thousands of years, both before and subsequently to the planting of Christianity in this island; after which it proceeds to describe the lamentable change which had befallen the country, which it also traces to its proper author.

"At length," says the address, "your predecessor, Pope Adrian, an Englishman, (not so completely in his origin, as in his feelings and connections,) in the year of our Lord 1170, upon the suggestion, false and full of iniquity, that was made to him by Henry, king of England, (the monarch under whom, and perhaps at whose instigation, St. Thomas of Canterbury suffered death, as you know, in defence of justice and the Church,) made over the dominion of our realm to that same prince, whom he ought rather, for the said crime, to have deprived of his own kingdom. "And thus despoiling us of our royal honour,

The complainants blame Pope Adrian IV. for all their misery, and

A. D. 1816.

the shocking
cruelties
which they
were suffer-
ing from
their Eng-
lish enemies.

without any offence of ours, he has handed us over to be lacerated by teeth more cruel than those of any wild beasts. And those of us who after having been flayed alive, had escaped half alive, the fatal fangs of those crafty foxes, and ravenous wolves, have been violently reduced to the abyss of miserable bondage. For since that time when the English, upon occasion of the grant aforesaid, under the mask of a kind of outward sanctity and religion, wickedly entered the borders of our realm, they have been endeavouring with all their might, and with every art of treachery which they could employ, utterly to exterminate, and completely to eradicate our people from the country. And by means of low, crafty scheming, they have so far prevailed against us, that after expelling us violently, without regard to the authority of any superior, from our spacious habitations and patrimonial inheritance, they have forced us to repair, in the hope of saving our lives, to mountainous, woody and swampy, and barren spots, and to the caves of the rocks too, and there like beasts to take up our dwelling for a length of time. Nay even in such places they are incessantly molesting us, and exerting themselves to the utmost of their power to drive us from them, and to seize upon every part of our native soil for themselves, contrary to all right; falsely asserting, in the

extreme frenzy which blinds them, that we have no right to any free dwelling place in Ireland, but that the whole property of the said country belongs entirely, of right, to themselves. Whence on account of these, and many other like atrocities, there have arisen between us and them, enmities irreconcilable, and incessant wars. From which have followed mutual slaughters, continual depredations, constant rapine, deeds of treachery and perfidy detestable, and too often repeated. For we hold it to be a certain truth, that from the occasion of the aforesaid false suggestion, and the grant founded upon it, more than fifty thousand people of the two nations, from the time when it was issued to the present time, have perished by the sword, independently of those that have been wasted by famine, or pined in dungeons. These few circumstances relative to the original state of our forefathers, and the miserable condition to which the pope of Rome has reduced us, may suffice for the present occasion."

A. D. 1318.

They charge upon the compact between Henry II. and Pope Adrian IV. the slaughter of 50,000 persons, &c.

That the clergy and monks of the English race were no less detested as oppressors and plunderers by the Irish complainants, than were the lay nobles and people in general, appears from the following curious passages :—

The Anglo-Romish monks and clergy hated by the Irish as much as the lay settlers.

"Further, as it very generally happens, whenever any Englishman by perfidy and craft kills

A. D. 1313.

an Irish person, however noble or innocent, whether clerk or layman, regular or secular, if even a prelate who is an Irishman should happen to be murdered, there is no justice or satisfaction to be had in the said court from such wicked murderer; yea rather, the more eminent the person killed, and the higher the rank he holds among his own people, so much the more is the murderer honoured and rewarded by the English party; and this not merely by the people in general, but also by religious persons and bishops of the English race."

The English clergy charged with preaching that it was no sin to kill an Irishman.

After adducing many instances of the treacherous and murderous disposition of the English settlers, the complainants go on to observe, that "it is not merely their lay and secular persons, but even some religious ones among them are preaching the heretical doctrine, that it is no more sin to kill an Irishman than a single dog or any other brute animal. And in support of this heretical statement, some of their monks have the effrontery to assert, that if it were to happen, as it often does happen, that they were to kill an Irishman, they would not for this refrain from the celebration of mass even for a single day." Then follow instances of practical illustration of the point here stated.

Depth of the hatred existing between the two parties.

As to the prospect of any improvement in their feelings towards their English neighbours,

the authors of the address express themselves in the following terms:—"And seeing that in their circumstances and actions, they are aliens from us to a far greater extent than can possibly be described by us in any writing or statement we can make, all hope of our maintaining peace with them is therefore entirely out of the question. For such a spirit of pride are they possessed of, and such an excessive passion for tyrannising over us, and such a just and natural determination have we formed, to shake off the insupportable yoke of their bondage, and to recover our inheritance wickedly seized upon by these people, that as there never has been heretofore, so neither for the future will it ever be possible that there can be or exist between us and them, any sincere concord in this life. For we have for each other a sort of natural hatred, arising from the mutual and continued slaughters of fathers, brothers, nephews, and other relatives and friends; so that we never shall be able so long as we and our children live, to entertain any inclination for friendship towards one another."

At the close of their address, the complainants make mention of their having chosen Edward Bruce for their king, in the following terms:—

"Wherefore, in consequence of the outrages above noticed, and others innumerable, which it

A. D. 1315.
The Irish
beg of the
pope to
ratify the
appoint-
ment of E.
Bruce as
king over
them.

A. D. 1314.

is beyond the power of man's mind easily to comprehend, and also for the purpose of shaking off the cruel and insupportable yoke of their bondage, and recovering our natural liberty, that we have lost for a time by their means, we are compelled to keep up mortal war with the people aforesaid. And in order the more readily and suitably to compass our design in this behalf, we are inviting to our aid and assistance Edward de Bruce, the illustrious earl of Carrick, brother-german of the most illustrious Robert, by the grace of God, king of the Scots, and a descendant of some of our own most noble ancestors. And seeing that it is free to every person to renounce his right, and transfer it to another, the whole right in the said kingdom which is known to pertain to us as its true inheritors, we have given and granted by our letters patent to the said individual, and have unanimously constituted him our king and lord in the realm aforesaid.

“ May it please thee therefore, most holy father, graciously to sanction, out of a regard for justice and public tranquility, our proceeding in reference to our said lord and king; forbidding the king of England and our adversaries above mentioned to molest us for the future: or at least kindly vouchsafe to execute for us upon them the due requirements of justice.”

The extracts here given will enable the reader to form a sufficient idea of the matter contained in this remonstrance to the pope. We may add, that the complainants sent with it a copy of the bull of Pope Adrian granting the dominion of Ireland to the kings of England, pointing out carefully how the conditions of that bull had been violated by the English princes and their subjects who had settled in this island.

And now, having become acquainted with the subject thus far, we may naturally be tempted to inquire what was the fate of this remarkable and touching Appeal, and what the reception which it met with in the paternal bosom of the "most holy father" at Rome. Little indeed was the satisfaction which the petitioners could obtain there: for the letter of remonstrance which the pope addressed on the occasion to his "*most dearly beloved son*," King Edward, was such as a learned Romanist writer has called, not very improperly, "a piece of affected commiseration."^{*} It speaks piously about God's hearing the groans of the oppressed, and about the expediency and advantages to the king which would arise from his looking into the wrongs of

A.D. 1315.

III success
of the fore-
going Ap-
peal.

* O'Connor, quoted in Phelan's *Policy*, p. 55. The pope's letter may be seen in Carew's *Ec. Hist. of Ireland*, at the close. It contains nothing sufficiently interesting to make it worth inserting in this work.

A. D. 1318.

The pope's
whole influ-
ence used in
favour of
England on
this occa-
sion.

the Irish, and granting them redress, so as to cut off all occasion of just complaint, and leave the adversary without excuse; that by this means "the Irish being better advised, might be led to submit to him as their lord, or if (what heaven forbid) they would still persist in their foolish rebellion, they should thus convert their cause into a matter of open injustice, while the king stood acquitted in the sight of God and man." With his letter to the king, the pope sent also a copy of that he had received from the Irish, and of Adrian's bull, which they had sent him. But, as the writer above referred to observes, "while on one hand John was writing in the language of gentle complaint, with the other he was employed in issuing excommunications against the aggrieved, for daring, without his leave, to confer the crown of Ireland on Bruce, and attempting to vindicate their liberties." In fact the whole weight of papal influence was employed in favour of the government; and the custom of filling the principal sees with Englishmen was now found of some use in quelling the disturbance that agitated the country. The leading prelates of Armagh, Dublin, and Cashel were English by birth and extraction; however therefore they might be disposed to bring the civil government into subjection to the Church, they could not agree to a scheme which, by separating

the countries, must have ended in their own ruin. A.D. 1318.
They therefore readily lent themselves as active instruments for suppressing Bruce's rebellion. The archbishops of Cashel and Dublin were successively during this rebellion entrusted with the administration of the government; and to them also were addressed by the pope the bulls excommunicating the enemies of the king of England. The archbishop of Armagh, a still more enthusiastic partizan of the English interest, followed the movements of the army, and on occasion of the decisive battle of Dundalk, went through the ranks, exhorting the men to behave with due valour against the enemies of their nation, (*i.e.* the Scots and Irish,) and also distributing his benedictions and absolutions for the benefit of all those who might fall in the righteous cause of pope and king.*

From the important circumstances connected with this part of our history, which have now been briefly set before the notice of the reader, some instructive observations will easily suggest themselves to the mind of the thoughtful student, as for instance:—

* Leland and Phelan, ut sup. Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. iii. (Edn. 1706) ad. an. 1317. Among the bulls there inserted is one, for example, (p. 630) addressed by Pope John to the archbishops of Dublin and Cashel, and the dean of Dublin, containing the sentence of excommunication, by bell, book, and candle, against E. Bruce and all his followers. Another (p. 630) denounces a similar sentence "against the friars minors who preached rebellion to the Irish people."

Notes on the
Irish Appeal

A.D. 1315.

The pope
charged in
it with all
themischief.

First, that all the extreme wretchedness and misery which the petitioners were suffering, they date from, and attribute to, the interference of the pope of Rome. Him they refer to as the author of all the mischief; pressing this point with a view, it would seem, to making Pope John the more active and energetic in procuring redress.

Irish hatred
of England
began not at
the Reforma-
tion.

Secondly, the bitter hatred and animosity that has existed between Irishmen and those of the English race, did not originate in religious causes; at least in any causes connected with the British Reformation, inasmuch as this unhappy feeling is here shown to have existed more than 200 years before the Reformation was introduced.*

Both parties
belonged to
the Romish
communion.

Thirdly, the boasted unity of the faith of these islands in Romish times did not hinder "bishops and religious men" from calling one another heretics, and exhibiting towards one another, in word and deed, conduct the most cruel, persecuting, and murderous, that can well be conceived.

Folly of the
philosophy
of Church-
destroying
politicians.

Fourthly, the spirit of opposition to English rule on the part of the "mere Irish," (as they were called,) was fully as great in those ancient times as it now is. Indeed it seems to have been even greater in the days when all the inhabitants of the two islands professed a common faith, and

* "The old native Irish considered the whole race as aliens and intruders"—*Leland* ii. 11, ad an. 1413.

when the great body of the Irish people were connected with the Irish Church, and members of its communion, than in later times after their desertion of that Church in order to form a new communion in the country. And therefore, the opinions of those persons who speak of the Irish Church at present as a monster grievance of the Irish people, and talk of its destruction as the only or best cure for Irish discontent, are shallow, childish, ignorant, absurd, and (except as tending to promote anarchy and sacrilege) contemptible.

We may further observe with reference to the document in question, that it appears (for many reasons, which our limits make it impossible for us to assign here,) to have been decidedly the work of ecclesiastics, although laymen were put forth as the ostensible authors of it, the hierarchy being studiously and expressly excluded in it from having had any share in promoting or forwarding the drawing up of such an appeal.*

A.D. 1315.

The Irish appeal promoted by men of the clerical order.

Allusion has already been made in a former chapter to the jealousies and strife which sprung up between the clergy and monks of English origin, and those whose extraction and circumstances led them to sympathise more fully with the cause of the native Irish people. Their mutual animosities are largely illustrated by the

Mutual jealousies of the English and Irish clergy exemplified

* Vid. Phelan's *Policy*, pp. 42, 43.

A.D. 1315.

contents of the Irish complaint to the pope, as is evident enough in what has just been set before the reader. We may add here one other extract from the Appeal, bearing on the same point, and throwing some additional light on the subject.

from an
early statute
passed at
Kilkenny.

“Moreover,” say the complainants, “by the common council of that king of England, and by some bishops of the English race, the chief of whom is the archbishop of Armagh, a man of little discretion and of no knowledge, a certain iniquitous enactment has been lately passed in the city of S. Keynice in Ireland, in the following unnatural terms:—‘Resolved, that all religious persons, dwelling in the land of peace among the English, are prohibited from receiving into their order, or form of religion, any except such as are of the nation of the English.’ Otherwise that they should be liable to a prosecution for contempt, &c.”*

Efforts of
the English
government
to exclude
Irishmen
from being

In connection with this subject, it is worth while to notice an appointment to the archbishopric of Cashel which was made about this time. Maurice Mac Carwill, bishop of that see,

* The act here mentioned having been then “lately” introduced, must have been passed in some parliament held shortly before 1315; and not earlier than 1311, when Roland Jorne became archbishop of Armagh. This act was subsequently confirmed by others of like purport. It was also in 1367 embodied in the famous “Statute of Kilkenny.”

dying in 1316, a contest for the vacant dignity arose between John Mac Carwill, bishop of Cork, and Thomas O'Lonchy, archdeacon of Cashel. ^{A.D. 1316.} King Edward II. however wrote to the court of Rome in 1317, begging that in case the election of either of these should be declared null and void, an Englishman might be appointed instead; and alleging at the same time his motives for making the request. We urge it, he says, "considering the state of our land of Ireland, which through the mad frenzy of certain parties, is miserably harrassed in these times with various wars and feuds; and that if any Irishman were appointed archbishop of the church aforesaid, situated as it is among the mere Irish, and men that are truly beastly and ignorant, greater perils may easily arise to ourselves, and our faithful subjects in the said land; especially as very many of those people, revolting from their allegiance, and committing there various crimes, have treasonably joined themselves to the Scots, our enemies, that have lately made hostile incursions into some parts of the said land, and have thus, with them, openly become enemies and rebels against us," &c.*

In another subsequent letter on the same subject, King Edward complains "that the prelates of the Irish race in their public preaching do not

* Ware's *Archbishops of Cashel*, p. 476. *Rymor's Fodera*, an. 1317.

A.D. 1318.

cease, in violation of their fidelity and oaths, to provoke against us the spirit of the people belonging to the places referred to ;” we therefore, he says, devoutly require and beg of your holiness to appoint an Englishman, “not permitting, if it seem good, that any Irishman by race, at least while these disturbances last, should be under any circumstances promoted, in our land aforesaid, to the archiepiscopal or episcopal dignity, unless our royal assent shall have been obtained, as is meet, in the first instance.”*

However to be regretted, or however ill-advised may have been the policy which King Edward was anxious to enforce in the appointment of his own countryman, in the instance before us, to the vacant see, we can scarcely wonder at his resolution when we remember the atrocities which had been so recently charged upon an Irish bishop of that see in the curious memorial of Margaret le Blunde.

Corporal
punishment
of heretics
in this age.

Case of the
lady Alice
Ketter :

Punishment of heretics by corporal torture was resorted to in Ireland, as well as in other countries, at this time ; and there are on record several instances of the use of it in the Irish Church of the fourteenth century. One of the most curious of these cases is that of the lady Alice Ketter, a person of some rank, who with

* Rymer, ut sup. tom. III. p. 616. The result was, according to Ware, that at the king's earnest request, William Fitzjohn was appointed archbishop.

her family and dependents was summoned by the bishop of Ossory before his spiritual court, to answer to a charge of witchcraft. ^{A.D. 1334.} "She was accused of going through Kilkenny every evening between compline and curfew, sweeping the refuse of the streets towards her son's door, and muttering this incantation as she went :—

To the house of William my son
His all the wealth of Kilkenny town.

It was also said that she made assignations, near a certain cross road, with an evil spirit whose name the bishop discovered to be Robert Artys-son ; and that on these occasions she feasted her paramour upon nine red cocks, and some unknown number of peacocks' eyes. The last allegation against her was, that various imple-ments of sorcery had been found in her house ; particularly a sacramental wafer, having the name of the devil imprinted on it, and a staff, upon which, when duly oiled for an expedition, she and her accomplices were accustomed to ride all the world over. Such things," (says the writer in whose words we give the narrative,) "would be ridiculous, were they not made the pretext for atrocities at which nature shudders." One of her domestics, a female servant, named Petro-nilla, was convicted and burned at Kilkenny ; her son was thrown into prison ; and the lady herself, although acquitted of the charge of

A.D. 1334.

witchcraft, was put on her trial a second time for heresy, and condemned to the flames. Whether the sentence was executed, is however a point on which our annals do not supply satisfactory information. Other persons of consequence, including even the lord deputy of the day, were involved in the same or similar charges; and the prelate who promoted their prosecutions having represented the case at Rome in such terms as best accorded with his own malice or fanaticism, a papal brief was in consequence despatched to the king, desiring that he would issue an order to his chief governor and other officers of state in Ireland, to assist the bishop of Ossory and his brother prelates in the extirpation of heresy.* About the same time an Irish gentleman named Adam (Niger, or) Duff, of the respectable family of the O'Tooles of Leinster, was condemned to death as an heretic, and consequently hanged and burned in the fire in Hoggin Green, near Dublin; having been accused of being possessed with a diabolical spirit, denying many scriptural truths, as the Incarnation, the Resurrection of the Flesh, &c.†

and of Adam
Duff.
A.D. 1336-7.

* Cox. i. 108. Leland, i. 264. Phelan's Policy, pp. 87, seqq.

† *Letter M.S.* Marsh's Library, Dublin; quoted in Mant, i. 20.

CHAP. V.

FURTHER DISORDERS AMONG THE PRELATES.—ACCOUNT OF RICHARD FITZ-RALPH.—THE STATUTE OF KILKENNY.—ABUSES OF THE POWER OF EXCOMMUNICATION.

THE same violent and arbitrary spirit which the prelates of the Irish Church, during the reign of Romanism in its body, exhibited towards one another, and towards the members of the flocks committed to their pastoral care, was also manifested by them in their proceedings towards the civil government, whenever its acts appeared to encroach upon their lawful or supposed prerogatives. Thus in A.D. 1346, a parliament, holden in Kilkenny, having granted the King Edward III. a supply of money for the exigencies of the state, Ralph Kelly, archbishop of Cashel, opposed its being levied within his province; and held moreover an assembly of his suffragans at Tipperary, at which were present Maurice bishop of Limerick, Richard bishop of Emly, and John bishop of Lismore, where they decreed that all beneficed clergymen contributing to the subsidy, should be *ipso facto* deprived of their benefices, and rendered incapable of obtaining any other preferment within that province; that

A.D. 1346.
Seditious and violent proceedings of an archbishop of Cashel and his suffragans.

A.D. 1346.

any of the laity, their tenants, contributing, should be *ipso facto* excommunicated; and that their children to the third generation should be incapable of being promoted in the province to any ecclesiastical benefice. In order the more solemnly to enforce these decrees, the archbishop and the other bishops came to Clonmel, and in their pontifical robes, in the middle of the street, openly excommunicated all those who granted or advised the said subsidy, and every one concerned in levying the same; and particularly Wm. Epworth, clerk, the king's commissioner in the county Tipperary, for gathering the said subsidy. These violent proceedings the archbishop attempted to justify by alleging that neither he nor his provincial bishops granted any subsidy, and that by *Magna Charta* the Church was to be free, and all infringing her liberties therein granted to be excommunicated.*

More burning of heretics, and fighting among the prelates.
A.D. 1353.

In addition to the instances already given of the punishment of heretics by corporal tortures, we may here notice another which occurred about A.D. 1353, and was attended with some very scandalous proceedings on the part of the prelates concerned in the case. Two Irishmen, having been convicted of heresy, or according to another account, of contumely offered to the Virgin Mary, before the bishop of Waterford,

* Ware's *Bishops*, p. 478. Phelan's *Poetry*, p. 60.

were burned by his order. But this act of the bishop not having the sanction of his metropolitan, the archbishop of Cashel, the latter prelate was filled with indignation, and resolved upon executing vengeance. Accordingly we read that "on Thursday after St. Francis' Day, a little before midnight, the archbishop entered privately into the churchyard of the Blessed Trinity at Waterford, with a numerous guard of armed men, and made an assault on the bishop in his lodgings, and grievously wounded him and many others in his company, and robbed him of his goods."* A.D. 1347.

We are not however to suppose that in these times the Irish Church was left entirely destitute of respectable and exemplary prelates. A remarkable instance of the contrary is to be found in the life of the famous Richard Fitz-Ralph, (called also from the place of his birth and burial, St. Richard of Dundalk,) who was archbishop of Armagh at the period now under consideration. Account of Richard Fitz-Ralph, archbishop of Armagh; A.D. 1347. He was educated at Oxford, and after holding some preferments in England, was by the pope's provision appointed primate of Ireland in A.D. 1347. He is commemorated as a learned divine, and an able and diligent preacher; and he left behind him works illustrative of his literary and theological qualifications; the most distinguished

* Ware, p. 533.

A.D. 1357.

and of his
controversy
with the
begging
friars.
A.D. 1357.

of which is a collection of sermons preached by him, partly in London, Lichfield, (of which he was dean,) and other places in England; partly at Drogheda, Dundalk, Trim, and other churches in his province, and partly at Avignon in France.*

We have already had occasion to mention the controversy in which this prelate was engaged with the mendicant orders or friars that had lately sprung up in the Church, and who were creating great confusion, under the pope's patronage, by drawing off the people from their parish churches and parochial clergy, to attend their own less orderly ministrations. These friars, "a kind of creatures unknown to the Church for twelve hundred years after Christ," although possessing vast influence, were stoutly opposed by Archbishop Fitz-Ralph; who in a course of sermons preached at St. Paul's Cross in London, in A.D. 1357, maintained, against their errors, amongst others, the following conclusions:—*First*, "That the Lord Jesus Christ, although in his human conversation he was always poor, yet had no love nor preference for poverty for its own sake." *Secondly*, that He "never voluntarily begged." *Thirdly*, that He "never taught men voluntarily to beg." *Fourthly*, that He "taught that men ought not to beg voluntarily." *Fifthly*, "That no person

* Ware's Bishops, p. 82. Reim. of A. L., ch. vi.

can with prudence and piety take upon himself a perpetual obligation to voluntary begging. Since from the circumstance that such mendicity or begging has been dissuaded by Christ, by his apostles and disciples, and by the Church and Holy Scriptures, and reproved by them also, it follows that it cannot with prudence and piety be adopted in this way."^a

A. D. 1267.

For his plain statement of these views, the guardian of the Franciscan friars at Armagh, and others both of that order and of the Dominicans, procured that Archbishop Fitz-Ralph should be cited to Avignon; where he appeared and continued for three years, undauntedly maintaining his former statements in the presence of Pope Innocent and his cardinals. To four of the latter the pope committed the examination of his cause. Fitz-Ralph, we are told, was silenced, the pope maintaining the rights of the friars in regard to the controverted points of preaching, confessions, and burials. Before these tempests were appeased however the archbishop died, in A.D. 1360. Some have thought that he translated the Bible into Irish. Be that as it may, it appears to be not unjustly that he has been regarded by many as a forerunner of the Reformation in this country; and it is to be regretted that there has not been more

His trial
before the
pope.

^a *Defensor. Curat.* pp. 104—121. (vid. sup. p. 586.)

A.D. 1360.

light thrown in recent times upon his life and writings.

Henry
Crump's
conflict with
the mendicants.

Not long after, another Irishman, named Henry Crump, a monk of the Cistercian order, in Baltinglass, was found treading in the steps of Primate Fitz-Ralph, and like him opposing the mendicant orders; setting forth publicly at Oxford that they "are not nor ever were instituted by God's inspiration," but that a principal motive with all the doctors who gave their decisions in favour of the friars was, the fear "lest their books should be condemned by the friars that were inquisitors of heretical pravity because if they had spoken out the truth plainly in behalf of the Church, the friars would have persecuted them as they did persecute the holy Doctor Armachanus."* Which Crump himself found afterwards to be too true in his own experience, he being forced to deny and abjure these assertions afterwards, before the archbishop of Canterbury, William Courtney, and also silenced for his offences. Many others of the clergy, we may suppose, naturally sympathised with Fitz-Ralph and his follower Crump; but the terror of the Inquisition was enough to compel them to keep silent.†

The Statute
of Kilkenny,
A.D. 1367.

The year 1367 has been rendered memorable by the passing of an act of parliament, famous

* *i.e.* Fitz-Ralph. † *Religion of Ancient Irish, ut sup.*

in the sad annals of Irish legislation, and lamentably illustrative of the unhappy mode of treatment adopted towards this country by the English government. The act alluded to is that which has been commonly known as *The Statute of Kilkenny*.^{*} A sound and judicious policy, proceeding from liberal and enlightened principles, would have led the conquerors of Ireland to introduce among their new subjects such improvements as would have benefited the country, without unwisely irritating them by interference with innocent national customs and cherished prejudices which might have been harmlessly tolerated. But on the contrary, every thing peculiarly Irish, good and bad, (names, language, habit, &c.,) was denounced as irreclaimably barbarous and intolerable, and the most cruel and persecuting laws, calculated to generate incessant discords between the two races, were enacted against such as would adopt or use those Irish customs and manners. Different enactments of the same tendency had already been introduced at Kilkenny and elsewhere: and the Irish in their appeal to Pope John XXII., took occasion, as we have seen, to complain of one of the sort made in 1315 or

A.D. 1367.

Its persecuting enactments against the Irish customs, &c.

^{*} See this *Statute*, or collection of statutes, in vol. II. of *Tracts relating to Ireland*, printed for the Irish Archaeological Society. *Phelan's Policy*, pp. 63, seqq.

A. D. 1367.

before it.* But the famous Statute of Kilkenny, passed in 1367, during the lieutenancy of Lionel duke of Clarence, seems to have embodied the substance of the acts on the same subject already in existence, enlarging upon them and adding to their restrictions. By this statute it was decreed, that marriage, nurture of infants, or gossiping with the Irish, or submission to the Irish law, should be considered and punished as high treason. Also, that those of the English race must use the English language, English names, apparel, mode of riding, &c. : and that any English persons, or Irish resident among the English who should use the Irish language among themselves should be punished with forfeiture of lands or imprisonment, "till they should find surety to adopt and use the English language:" and also that beneficed clergymen living among the English, should use the English language, under penalty of forfeiting to their ordinaries the produce of their benefices, until they should use it. "And they shall have respite," says the act, "in order to learn the English language, and to provide saddles, between this and the feast of St. Michael next coming."†

None of the
Irish race to
enjoy

Another chapter of the Statute of Kilkenny ordains "that no Irishman of the nations of the

* Vid. p. 646 sup. † *Statute of Kilkenny*, co. II. III. p. 2, 11, 12, &c.

Irish be admitted into any cathedral or collegiate church, by provision, collation, or presentation of any person, nor to any benefice of holy Church amongst the English of the land," and if any were so admitted, that the benefice should be held for void, and that the king should have the power of appointing to the vacancy for that time. The next chapter of the act forbids the rulers of religious houses among the English, to receive any Irishman to their profession, under a penalty of confiscation of their temporalities.*

Some enactments of a more beneficial tendency were included in the Statute of Kilkenny; one, for instance, enjoined that war and peace should be general throughout the land, so that individual nobles might not in time of peace commence war upon their own account;† another appointed a penalty to be enforced upon Englishmen breaking truce with the Irish:‡ these more salutary clauses however, even had they been energetically carried out, could have done but little to counteract the evils promoted by the tendency of the general regulations of the Statute. What recommended it chiefly to the legislators of that day was its apparent fitness for hindering the English colonists from "degenerating" into the adoption of Irish manners, and becoming thus in danger of having

A.D. 1367.

Church benefices, &c. among the settlers.

Tendency of the Statute of Kilkenny to prevent degeneracy of the English.

* 1b. chapters xiii. and xiv. † 1b. ch. xx. ‡ 1b. ch. xxvi.

A.D. 1367.

The prelates
of Ireland
sanction and
confirm this
act.

their affections alienated from the cause of their original country:

Oppressive and unwise as were the enactments of this famous statute, it met nevertheless with the sanction and confirmation of the authorities of the Irish Church of that day. At the parliament which passed it there were present eight prelates, three archbishops and five bishops, who besides their general co-operation in the introduction of the act, lent their aid also further to strengthen its force, by pronouncing an excommunication against all who should venture to disobey it. This formidable sentence is inserted in the last chapter of the act, so as to form a conclusion to the entire, in the following terms:—

with threats
of excom-
munication
against all
who should
violate it.

“Also our lord the duke of Clarence, lieutenant of our lord the king in Ireland, and the council of our said lord the king there, the earls, barons, and commons of the land aforesaid, at this present parliament assembled, have requested the archbishops and bishops, abbots, priors, and other persons of religion, that they do cause to be excommunicated, and do excommunicate the persons contravening the statutes and ordinances aforesaid, and the other censures of holy Church to fulminate against them, if any by rebellion of heart act against the statutes and ordinances aforementioned. And we Tho-

mas archbishop of Duveliu, Thomas archbishop of Cashel, John archbishop of Thueme, Thomas bishop of Lismore and Waterford, Thomas bishop of Killalo, William bishop of Ossorie, John bishop of Leighlin, and John bishop of Clon, being present in the same parliament, at the request of our said most worthy lord the duke of Clarence, lieutenant of our lord the king in Ireland, and the lords and commons aforesaid, against those contravening the Statutes and ordinances aforesaid, passing over the time preceding, do fulminate sentence of excommunication, and do excommunicate them by this present writing, we and each of us reserving absolution for ourselves and for our subjects, if we should be in peril of death."*

It is worthy of note that of the eight prelates here named, three at least were Irishmen, and seven had been indebted for their promotion to papal appointment.† But if the Irish extraction of the three had supplied no sufficient motives to lead them to sympathise more fully with the feelings of their lay fellow-countrymen, much less could the pope's approval of the seven furnish us with any ground for anticipating a

A. D. 1367.

Note concerning the prelates named in this act.

* *Statute of Kilkenny*, ch. xxxv. where will be found a brief notice of each of the prelates named in this act, and also of those who occupied the other sees at this time : from which it will be seen how universally prevalent was the influence of the Church of Rome in every part of Ireland in the age under consideration.

† See Appendix, No. xx.

A.D. 1369. greater leaning on their part to the popular Irish cause.

Scandalous
fight be-
tween an
archbishop
of Cashel,
and one of
his suffra-
gans.
A.D. 1369.

We have not yet done with our instances of violent and outrageous conduct on the part of the prelates of the Church in those days. Historical candour makes it necessary that the state of things in this respect, as it really existed, should be illustrated by facts, which we might otherwise desire to pass over in silence; a single case or two more however, and we close the subject. A remarkable one occurs in the records of the year 1369. In this year the bishop of Limerick having been accused of violating the privileges of the Franciscan friars, the matter was referred by the pope to the archbishop of Cashel. But on being summoned to answer the alleged grievances, the bishop laid violent hands on the archbishop, tore the citation from him with such force that he drew his blood, and ordered him to be gone, with menaces of further injury to him and his attendants. At last the archbishop having been compelled to fly from Limerick by the danger of fresh personal assaults, the bishop clothed in his pontifical ornaments, entered the city with his accomplices, and by bell, book, and candle, publicly excommunicated every person who had supplied the archbishop with food and entertainment. And when the archbishop, on a day

of solemnity, repaired to Limerick according to custom, to preach, the bishop caused public proclamation to be made, that no person, under pain of excommunication, should hear his sermon; and excommunicated by name those who attended it. And even when the archbishop left the city, the bishop sent some of his servants after him to maltreat him on the way.*

A.D. 1322.

As an instance of outrage connected with the abuse of excommunication and indulgences, we read that in A.D. 1442, John Prene, archbishop of Armagh, having a dispute with the dean and chapter of Raphoe about the profits of the bishopric of Raphoe, excommunicated the dean and chapter, and granted forty days' indulgences to all who should fall upon their persons, and dissipate their substance.†

Abuse of the power of excommunication, instanced in a primate of Ireland.
A.D. 1442.

Countless other instances of outrages committed by ecclesiastical persons and church dignitaries might have been added to those here given, did our limits allow, or occasion require it; we might tell of various cases on record of assault and battery committed by monks, clergy, and laity, upon one another; of friars coming to the attack "in coats of mail, with swords, clubs, and other weapons,"‡ against some of their own order, &c., &c.; but the subject has been already

* Ware's *Bishops*, p. 508.
Monasticism, p. 206. *Mant*, l. 23.

† *Id.* 274.

‡ Archdall's *Me-*

A.D. 1442.

Murder of a
bishop by
his archdeacon.

A.D. 1525.

English law
of these
times about
Irish whiskers.

sufficiently dwelt upon, and we may now confine ourselves to a bare statement of one other circumstance illustrative of it, viz., the case of a bishop of Leighlin, who in A.D. 1525, was murdered by his archdeacon, because he had rebuked him for his insolence, obstinacy, and other crimes, and threatened him with further correction.*

Meanwhile the Church continuing to labour under the misery of supporting such prelates, the civil government was employed in making many fruitless efforts for the completion of the conquest of Ireland, and the pacification and improvement of the country. Among the precious attempts at legislation for Ireland to which these times gave birth, there are to be found some acts which might well excite a ludicrous feeling in the mind, could we forget the miseries which have accrued from such misgovernment to millions of our fellow men. As a specimen of the sort of acts alluded to, the following appears peculiarly worthy of notice. In a parliament held at Trim, in the twenty-fifth year of King Henry VI., A.D. 1447, by John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, lord lieutenant of Ireland, it was decreed, that "as there is no diversity of habit between the English marchers and Irish enemies, by colour of which the Irish enemies come into the English counties as English

* Ware's Bishops, p. 461.

marchers, and rob and pillage on the highway, and destroy the common people by lodging on them by nights, and slay the husbandmen, and take their goods to the Irish : it is enacted, that he that will be taken for an Englishman shall not use a beard upon his upper lip alone, and that the said lip shall be once shaved at least in every two weeks, the offender to be treated as an Irish enemy.*

A.D. 1447.

The power of the civil government was however weak in Ireland, and its authorities were little able to carry out their measures with energy. They were therefore obliged to avail themselves of the aid of spiritual terrors and episcopal denunciations to enforce their acts, an instance of which we have already seen in the case of the Statute of Kilkenny. But as the bishops were not always willing to issue Church censures against the opponents of the civil power, an act was passed in A.D. 1467, compelling all archbishops and bishops of Ireland, upon forty days' notice given, to proceed to the excommunication of all disobedient subjects, under a penalty of one hundred pounds in case they should be remiss in executing the duties thus assigned them. In this way the solemn censures of the

Sacrilegious
abuse of
Church censures by the
civil government.
A.D. 1467.

* *Original Roll*, quoted in the *Statute of Kilkenny* p. 13, not. A. This act was not repealed until A.D. 1436. (*Vid.* p. 687, *sup.* note.)

A.D. 1467

The prelates
of Ireland
are involved
in the im-
posture of
Lambert
Sinnel.
A.D. 1466.

Church were scandalously treated as mere tools of office in the hands of the civil power.*

In the reign of Henry VII. the contentions existing between the rival houses of York and Lancaster afforded to the Irish bishops an occasion of exhibiting once more the bold and independent spirit which animated their order, while they ventured to appear in open rebellion against the united authorities of pope and king. The title of the reigning prince had been confirmed by the pontiff, with the severest denunciations against all gainsayers; yet all the bishops except four, English and Irish indiscriminately, with a proportionate number of the clergy, joined in the conspiracy which was formed for deposing him, and conferring the crown on the impostor Sinnel. This youth having arrived in Dublin was conducted in state to the cathedral of Christ Church, where the bishop of Meath, in a bold discourse from the pulpit, explained and enforced his right to the throne; after which a crown was placed upon his head, amidst the acclamations of a misguided people. But it would have been too much to expect that the pope would sanction such proceedings. He on the contrary directed a bull to the four prelates who had not shared in the rebellion, commanding them to excommunicate their offending brethren; and the de-

* *Vid. Leland's History of Ireland, ii. 56. Phelan's Policy, p. 74.*

linquents would have experienced the utmost severity of papal vengeance, had not the monarch declared his willingness to admit them to pardon, upon the easy terms of acknowledging their fault, and renewing their oaths of allegiance, which terms were accordingly accepted by the said prelates.*

A.D. 1493.

* lb. The four prelates alluded to were those of Cashel, Thom, Clogher, and Ossory.—Leland, 77.

BOOK VI.

IRELAND IN THE TROUBLOUS TIMES OF THE BRITISH REFORMATION.

CHAP. I.

THE POPE'S SUPREMACY, NOW VIEWED BY DIFFERENT CLASSES
IN IRELAND.—ITS SUPPRESSION BY HENRY VIII., AND THE IRISH
BISHOPS, PRINCES, NOBLES, ETC.

A. D. 1532.

The doctrine of papal supremacy, a convenient one for ambitious ecclesiastics.

FROM the matter which has been brought before our notice in the preceding pages, we may see that the prelates of the Irish Church in the period last referred to were not always disposed to act as the humble and submissive slaves of papal authority; but that they were on the contrary ready at times to adopt for themselves courses of their own choosing, independent of the will of the pope, and even in direct opposition to it, for the purpose of maintaining or advancing their own views and influence. In fact, the doctrine of the pope's supremacy was found to be a very convenient one for promoting the designs of ambitious and intriguing ecclesiastics; the supremacy of the pope, in its practical application to Ireland, coming to mean little more or less

than their own supremacy: for whatever power or jurisdiction they could assert by means of this doctrine, as belonging to the bishop of Rome, would naturally be exercised in all ordinary cases by themselves. And thus while their modesty was saved from the invidious appearance of struggling for questionable privileges belonging to their own office, and while they might seem only as disinterested and faithful men, to be contending for the support of the rightful claims of another, whom the Lord had placed over them as the visible head and chief of His Church on earth, they were enabled all the while to direct their full energies to the great practical object of thus promoting their own power and consequence. We need not wonder therefore to find that the doctrine of the pope's supremacy was one which the prelates of Ireland, in those times which we have been considering, embraced heartily, and generally endeavoured, as far as possible, to maintain and inculcate under all circumstances.*

* Not however with such universal and unlimited loyalty and ardour, but that they could upon occasion give aid to the civil government in circumscribing the extent of the pernicious influence which they supported in the country. (Vid. Irish Statutes, A.D. 1454, &c., Leland, ii. 20, Ware's *Annals*, ad an. 1473, and the transactions of the parliament held in Dublin in that year, as there recorded.) Nor did they hesitate, when it promoted their ends, to act in defiance of both pope and civil government. Vid. p. 666, sup.

A.D. 1532.

Feelings of
the common
people toward
this
supremacy.

The common people in the mean time were filled with awful ideas concerning the nature of that mysterious, distant, unseen authority, which they were taught to regard as the centre and source of all spiritual power upon earth; and therefore so far as they were under the guidance of the prelates, and influenced by any religious impressions received from them, they also were ready to acknowledge and uphold the doctrine of papal supremacy, as well as the other tenets of the religion of Rome. But such of the Irish as were more free from the control of the higher ecclesiastical authorities, and more independent of the English power, cared comparatively little, it would seem, about this doctrine concerning the supremacy.

not in all
cases those
of the most
devoted af-
fection.

Indeed a love for their own "barbarous simplicity," in matters ecclesiastical, in opposition to the Roman mode of proceeding in such affairs, and in opposition to their own prelates who co-operated with England and Rome, seems to have prevailed among the native Irish for ages after the Invasion; and this feeling would naturally lead them to regard with less respect, if not entirely to set at nought, the pretensions of the bishop of Rome to such unbounded authority as he would fain exercise among them. Their forefathers before the twelfth century had never submitted to nor recognised that authority as

having any right of interference with the Church affairs of their island; and that those who came after should in general be very quick in submitting to it, was more than could be expected, promoted and urged upon them as that authority had been by English enemies, or by prelates of their own Church who co-operated in general with those enemies. Accordingly Dr. Lanigan (as we have already seen) goes so far as to state that, after the Invasion, wherever the natives were able to maintain their independence, "clergy and people followed their own ecclesiastical rules, as if the Synod of Cashel had never been held." And although this statement be not exactly correct, it seems probable that it describes, with sufficient propriety, what was the general feeling of the native Irish of those times, towards that foreign ecclesiastical influence which in the Synod of Cashel had been so predominant.

A. D. 1833.

Feelings of the native Irish towards the Romish Church of England, illustrated from the pope's bull for the foundation of the Church of St. Nicholas, Galway. A.D. 1484.

Nor was the lapse of centuries, even down to the very eve of the Reformation, sufficient to remove from the minds of the Irish that feeling of hostility towards the religious system of England and Rome, which is here noticed. This appears distinctly enough from a bull of Pope Innocent VIII., (dated February 8, 1484,) for the erection of a collegiate church at Galway. The document, penned more than 300 years

A. D. 1532.

after the Invasion, and about fifty before the commencement of the British Reformation, states, "that the people of the parish of the said church of St. Nicholas, living in their walled or fortified town, were modest and civilized men, who did not practise the same customs with the wild and mountainous people of those parts;" but that they were so harrassed by those wild Irish neighbours, that "they were unable to hear divine service, or receive the sacraments of the Church, according to the decency, rite, and custom of England, which they the said inhabitants [of the parish of St. Nicholas] and their ancestors of old had been accustomed to follow. And they were kept in a state of disturbance by these ignorant people, at times plundered of their goods and murdered by them, and compelled to bear with divers other losses and injuries to their persons and properties." Then follows the enactment that the collegiate church of St. Nicholas, as thenceforth to be constituted, "should for the future be ruled and governed by the aforesaid eight presbyters, or vicars, civilized, virtuous, and learned men, and by one Warden or Custos, all duly holding the English rite and order in the celebration of divine service."* The exertions of 300 years it seems had failed in the attempt to induce those native Irishmen of Galway to

* *Vid. Burke's Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 440. *Phelan's Policy*, p. 64.

submit to the decrees enacted at Cashel by their own prelates, under the guidance and direction of Rome.

A. D. 1533.

Even in the following reign is to be found some additional evidence in illustration of the same point, showing how little reason Rome as yet had to be satisfied with the degree of reverence for her authority manifested at that period by the native population of this isle. Soon after Cardinal Wolsey had been appointed the pope's legate, *a latere*, as it was called, he prepared a supply of bulls and dispensations for sale to the faithful in Ireland. But Archbishop Alan, who was appointed to be his distributor of these articles, found occasion to complain to him that they went off but slowly in this country. "The Irish," he said, "had so little sense of religion, that they married within the prohibited degrees, without dispensations; they also questioned his grace's authority in Ireland especially outside the pale,"* i.e. outside the territory where the English law, customs, and authority prevailed; or in other words, in those parts of the country where the native Irish still maintained a sort of struggle for their independence.

Pope's bulls, &c., not much valued by the native Irish in the time of Henry VIII. about A.D. 1533.

Opinions of the nobles concerning the pope's supremacy.

So far with regard to the opinion of the prelates and of the people at large concerning the

* Cox, p. 216, quoted in Phelan.

A. D. 1533.

How far
those of the
English race
maintained
it.

supremacy of the pope. Now as to the princes and nobles. They generally speaking, either assented to this doctrine, embracing it with the rest of the creed of Rome, or at least did not express any open dissent from it. But their reception of it was far from being as devout, cordial, or extensive, as was that of some of the people. The lords of the English race for instance, accustomed to a spirit of independence, and anxious chiefly about securing power for themselves, offered from time to time no small resistance to the undue interference of the Roman bishop in the ordinary Church matters of the country. And while admitting the doctrine of papal supremacy, they received it with important limitations and restrictions, such as had been always imposed upon it, even in Romish times, in the Church and realm of England. And accordingly at various parliaments held in Ireland, and attended by the lords of the English race, very severe enactments were passed to restrain the effects of the encroaching spirit of the bishop of Rome, and limit the extent of his usurped jurisdiction.*

* See the Letter of Archdeacon Stopford On the Ecclesiastical Sanction of the Irish Reformation in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Journal* for January 1846, p. 298. In connection with which I may take this opportunity of acknowledging some valuable aid towards the compiling of part of the pages which here follow, derived from the important communications on the same subject, contained in several

And if the lords of the English race were not over anxious about extending the pope's privileges in Ireland, the Irish princes and nobles were still less so, caring little about the doctrine of the supremacy as an article of faith, and feeling little inclination to promote in the country an influence that had always tended to crush themselves and injure their interests. For as long as Rome had power in the Church of this country, and over its lawful prelates, she showed little sympathy for the cause of the native princes, or Irish people, regarding them rather, it would seem, as a body of disorderly enemies, whom it was desirable to crush and restrain by severity as often as opportunity offered; they appearing in her eyes to be such an incorrigible set of barbarians, that it was idle to think of dealing with them as with tractable Christians.

A.D. 1333.

The Irish
princes
cared less
about it.

As connected with the subject of papal supremacy, the Complaint of the Irish to Pope John XXII, during the rebellion of E. Bruce, is by no means uninteresting or unimportant. That document, although its tenor and style are such as to show that some clerical hand had an active part in drawing it up, yet emanated ostensibly from lay persons, and expressly excludes the

Illustration
of the sub-
ject from the
*Complaint
of the Irish.*
A.D. 1315.

numbers of the same paper, (commencing with No. 60,) and proceeding from the pens of the writer above named, the Regius Professor of Divinity, Trinity College, Dublin, and other writers.

A.D. 1533.

clerical body, or at least the higher ranks of them, from having any share in it; stating that they, however oppressed, are yet "through slavish fear, basely silent," and durst not complain of the wrongs they suffered. So far as they sympathised in the matter of the Appeal, they preferred, it would seem, making use of laymen as the instruments of expressing their dissatisfaction; and they may also have been unwilling to commit themselves to all the statements contained in the memorial. Be that as it may however, this complaint proceeded certainly from men who entertained a deep hatred against England, and who were not much better pleased with Rome for aiding her as she had done. And it speaks the language, not of affectionate and confiding children, telling their sorrows in a parent's ear, with sure hope of sympathy and relief, but rather that of the disheartened slaves of a relentless tyrant, feeling the burden of their oppression, but seeing no prospect of remedy. The manner in which they complain to the pope against England and her people is very much similar to that used by the Israelitish slaves to their heartless oppressor in Egypt—*Behold, thy servants are beaten, but the fault is thine own people.**

* Exodus v. 16. From the whole history of these times it seems plain, that if a very large portion of the people of this country be-

England has indeed been a source of many evils to Ireland and her Church, from the first times of the connection formed between the two islands in the twelfth century to the present day. England was in that age, as we have seen, the great instrument for establishing papal and Roman influence in the country. Englishmen were, in the succeeding ages, before the Reformation, the best subjects of the Church of Rome in Ireland. Englishmen at the period of the Reformation and subsequently, were the great hinderers of that movement in our island, by open opposition, by misgovernment, by indiscreet and injurious laws, by abuse of Church property, by evil appointments in Church and state, and otherwise. And English influence has also been since the time of the Reformation, with few exceptions, hurtful to the interests of the Irish Church: English ministers and governments too often oppressing that Church, and patronising through a weak and infatuated policy, the system of error and corruption cherished by the adherents of the communion of Rome.

A.D. 1532.

English
influence
not benefi-
cial to the
Irish
Church.

The pope's
power and
profit abo-
lished in
England.

A.D.
1532-3-4.

But to return to the subject of the supremacy.
At the commencement of the sixteenth century

came subsequently filled with superstitious devotion to the papal authority, it was no natural feeling on their part, nor one proceeding from any deep religious principles, but engendered rather by party spirit, animosity to England, and the fatal influence of civil wars.

A.D. 1532.

matters connected with it were fast advancing to an important change. It is unnecessary to introduce here an account of the long train of circumstances which led to the suppression of this supremacy, and all the privileges claimed on account of it in the British dominions by the popes of Rome. Suffice it to say, that King Henry VIII., being fully convinced of the vain absurdity of such pretensions to authority on the part of a foreign prelate, and seeing how much it interfered with his own rights and oppressed his subjects, became fully determined to shake it off altogether. And accordingly he and the parliament of England suppressed, in 1532 and 1533, a whole host of fees and taxes of various sorts, first-fruits, tenths, Peter-pence, payment to be made on admission to bishoprics, and various other sources of gain, which had been the means of conveying hitherto an immense revenue out of England annually to the popes. But these changes being strongly exclaimed against by some of the adherents of the latter, who pretended that the usurped jurisdiction which had been suppressed, was founded on the Word of God, the question was proposed to the bishops and clergy of England, in 1534, "whether the bishop of Rome has, in the Word of God, any greater jurisdiction in the realm of England than any other foreign bishop?" It

was answered in the negative ; the universities, chapters, monks, friars, &c., declaring their assent ; and only one bishop (Fisher) refusing to agree to this general decision of the Church of England, by which the papal supremacy was in that country regularly and lawfully suppressed. A. D. 1534.

Ireland as well as England had suffered much from the pecuniary exactions of the greedy popes ;* and in addition to the customary demands on ordinary occasions, extortions of a more wholesale nature were sometimes practised, whereby both countries were alike victimised ; as when in A.D. 1240, a missionary arrived here from Pope Gregory with a demand, under pain of excommunication and other ecclesiastical censures, of the twentieth part of the whole land, besides donations and private gratuities for the maintenance of the war which the pope was carrying on against the Emperor Frederick, whereby he extorted a thousand and five hundred marks or more.† The English clergy were at the same time forced to give for the same purpose a fifth part of their revenues ; and numerous other instances of the like exactions might be adduced, did our space permit. Ireland also subject to papal extortions.

* As for example in 1291, when Pope Nicholas IV. made a grant to King Edward I. of the papal tenths of the three kingdoms, in support of a promised crusade ; upon occasion of which there was made a very interesting valuation of all the benefices of Ireland, the returns of which have been preserved in the Exchequer Office of England, and are still extant. Vid. Appendix, No. xxi.

† Cox, l. 68. Mant, l. 13.

A.D. 1534.

Henry's attempts to suppress the pope's power in Ireland resisted by Primate Cromer.

King Henry therefore having succeeded in causing his supremacy in the Church of England to be recognised by the clergy, and authorised by parliament, was desirous of establishing the like supremacy in the Church of Ireland. This however he found to be a matter of considerable difficulty, chiefly in consequence of the opposition to the measure arising from George Cromer, archbishop of Armagh, who was a zealous promoter of the pope's supremacy in despite of the pretensions of the king. He is also said to have been a person "of great gravity, learning, and a sweet demeanour;" and these qualities adding much weight to the influence naturally connected with his high station in the Church and country, he was therefore enabled to induce many others to join with him in support of his resistance to the king's wishes.*

Appointment of Geo. Browne to the archbishopric of Dublin.

But a vacancy having occurred in the archbishopric of Dublin in July, 1534,† an opportunity was afforded to King Henry, in filling it up, of introducing into the Irish Church a prelate more likely to advance his wishes there, and one whose personal character and abilities, combined with the advantages derived from the high

* Ware's *Bishops*, p. 91. Mant. i. 108.

† The last occupant of this see had been the unfortunate Archbishop Alan, who having become involved in political contention, had been brutally murdered by the rebel followers of "Silken Thomas," son of the earl of Kildare. Vid. Leland, ii. 148.

position which he was to fill, might serve as a counteracting force to resist the opposition of Primate Cromer, and effect the acknowledgement of the king's supremacy in all the Church of Ireland. A.D. 1534.

Accordingly the king's choice fell upon George Browne, a person whose character was well adapted to the important and trying crisis at which he was called to this high office. For he is described as having been of a choerful countenance, to the poor merciful and compassionate, feeling a pity for the state and condition of the souls of the people, and withal exhibiting in his conduct an honest and straight-forward simplicity and plainness. Having been educated at Holywell in Oxford, in an Augustinian friary, he afterwards lived for some time in London, as one of that order, and became so eminent among his brethren belonging to it, that he was chosen provincial of their body in England. In this capacity he was remarked for the peculiarity of his doctrine in advising the people to make their application for aid to Christ alone, and not to the Virgin Mary, or other saints.*

Having received the degree of doctor of divinity in some foreign university, he was honoured with the same rank at Oxford in 1534, and at His consecration,
March 12,
A.D. 1535.

* Ware's *Bishops*, pp. 349, 352. Robert Ware's *Life of Archbishop Browne*, in the English edition of Ware's *Annals*.

A. D. 1533.

Cambridge soon after. And in the following March being advanced by King Henry VIII. to the archbishopric of Dublin, he was consecrated with all the customary forms by Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury, Fisher bishop of Rochester, and Shaxton bishop of Salisbury; every thing being transacted according to the Romish ritual, and the only deviation from the ordinary course of consecration being, that instead of his being indebted for the pall and other marks of his archiepiscopal rank to the bishop of Rome, he received these symbols of his new dignity from the legitimate authorities of the Church of his own nation, and thus entered on his office unshackled by any tie of submission to the usurped power of the Roman pontiff.

His consistency in public life.

Nor had the king reason to repent of the choice which he had made in the advancement of Archbishop Browne, for he found him ever afterwards to be a zealous and faithful promoter of the objects which he had in view, and sincerely desirous to effect the important changes in religious affairs then contemplated by him.

A commission appointed for extinguishing the pope's power in Ireland. A.D. 1533.

About the time when the new archbishop came to Dublin, a body of commissioners was appointed, of whom he was one, to make arrangements for removing the pope's authority from Ireland, and for reducing that kingdom to a conformity with England, in acknowledging the

sovereign power of the crown, whether in things spiritual or temporal. But many difficulties opposing their endeavours, the archbishop recommended that the king's supremacy should be established in Ireland by act of parliament; and this was accordingly done by an enactment passed in a parliament holden at Dublin, in the spring of the year 1536,* under Lord Leonard Gray, the lord deputy, although not without much strong opposition from the clergy, which was however eventually quashed. From the importance of the proceedings connected with this parliament and its enactments, it appears desirable to bring them before the reader somewhat more in detail.

A. D. 1535.

The same object promoted by acts of parliament, May, 1536.

Of these enactments the most remarkable was perhaps that which was entitled the Act of Succession, in which were included clauses totally abolishing the exercise of the pope's jurisdiction in this country.† Stating in the first place the evils of a disputed succession, it traces them

Account of the Act of Succession, passed in this parliament.

* Bishop Mant (*Church History*, i. 115) has 1537; but this appears to be a mistake. The May of the twenty-eighth year of Henry VIII. fell in 1536. The letter advising the parliament to be called was written by Archbishop Browne in September, 1535, about six months after his arrival in Ireland, which might have easily suggested that 1536, and not 1537, was the proper year to which the opening at least of this parliament should be assigned. See Appendix No. xxii.

† *Irish Statutes*, 38th Henry VIII., ch. ii. See also the Communications in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Journal*, already referred to at p. 674, and in particular the letter of the archdeacon of Meath, in No. 78; also, the note on the Act of Succession at p. 692, inf.

A. D. 1536. chiefly to the occasion thus given for the pope's interference, "which thing," say the legislators, "we do abhor and detest." It then declares, that the marriage of Henry VIII. with his brother's widow was "against the laws of Almighty God," and confirms the judgment which Cranmer had given in defiance of the pope's jurisdiction. And it altogether condemns the notion that such marriages, "plainly prohibited and detested by the laws of God," may be made legal by any such authority as the Church of Rome pretended to, or may be lawfully celebrated "under colours of dispensations by man's power, which is but usurped, and of right ought not to be granted, admitted, or allowed." The statute then enacts, "That every person so unlawfully married shall be separated by the definitive sentence of the archbishops, bishops, and other ministers, of the Church of this land of Ireland, within the limits of their jurisdictions and authorities, and by none other power or authority. And that all other sentences and judgments given and to be given by any archbishop, bishop, or other minister of the Church of this . . . said land, within the limits of their jurisdictions and authorities, shall be definitive, firm, good, and effectual, to all intents and purposes, and be observed and obeyed, without suing any provocation, appeals, or prohibition, or other process, from the court of Rome,

to the derogation thereof." It was moreover enjoined that all spiritual and temporal persons should take an oath for the observance of this act.

A.D. 1536.

Next in importance of the statutes of this parliament connected with our subject, was the act for establishing the king's supremacy;* whereby it was ordained "that the king, his heirs, and successors, should be the supreme head on earth of the Church of Ireland," with power to restrain and reform all errors, heresies, abuses, &c., which might by any kind of spiritual authority be lawfully restrained or amended, to the promoting of true religion and peace throughout the "land of Ireland; any usage, custom, foreign laws, foreign authority, prescription, or any other thing or things to the contrary, notwithstanding." By this bill the supremacy taken from the pope was plainly to be transferred to the king.

Act for the king's supremacy.

Other important acts connected with the supremacy were introduced at the same time; as the Act of Appeals,† imposing penalties upon those who should carry appeals to Rome, contrary to the provisions of the Act of Succession, and appointing a substitute in the Court of Delegates; the Act of First-fruits,‡ requiring that all persons nominated to any ecclesiastical preferments should in all cases pay to the king the profits of the same for one year; the Act "against

Other acts of this parliament relating to ecclesiastical affairs.

* *Irish Statutes*, 28th Henry VIII., c. v. † *ib. c. vi.* ‡ *ib. c. viii.*

A.D. 1536.
 Act against
 the authority of the
 bishop of
 Rome.

the authority of the Bishop of Rome"* recounting the various mischiefs, temporal and spiritual, which attended the usurped power of that prelate, forbidding all persons, under the severest penalties, to extol or maintain by writing or any act, such foreign pretended authority in this realm, and making it high treason for any ecclesiastical or lay officer to refuse the oath of supremacy imposed on them by this statute; and the Act † for the Twentieth part, which ordained that the twentieth part of the profit of all spiritual promotions should be paid to the king yearly for ever; an act so well pleasing to his majesty, that he sent a particular letter of thanks to the lords spiritual for this grant.

Act for the
 English order,
 habit,
 and language.

Another act of the same parliament which deserves our notice, was that for encouraging "the English order, habit, and language," ‡ which, following out the spirit of the old laws already made on this point, required that spiritual promotions should be given "only to such as could speak English, unless after four proclamations in the next market town, such could not be had." The same act further enjoined that parochial English schools should be established in the country, and that all clergymen should be bound by oath to "endeavour to learn and teach the English tongue to all and every being under his rule; and to bid the beads in the English

* *Irish Statutes*, 20th Henry VIII., c. xiii. † *ib.* c. 14. ‡ *ib.* c. xv.

tongue, and preach the Word of God in English, ^{A. D. 1536.} if he can preach ;” an act on the tendency of which we need not enlarge in this place.

Of the manner in which these different acts were passed, and of the reception which they met with in the houses of parliament, something now remains to be said. And first it may be observed that such of them as were of an ordinary character, connected with the usual matters of business, the settling of the revenue, the enactment or revival of laws against the Irish habit and language, &c., the government found no difficulty in passing. Nor do we find any record of the Act of Succession having met with decided opposition from the members of the legislature, notwithstanding the clauses which it contained abolishing the pope's supremacy. This however is not so much to be wondered at, as these clauses contained no new principle, but only affirmed, or at most enlarged upon, laws already existing against papal jurisdiction, which had been sanctioned by various parliaments formerly held in Ireland.*

* “The laws for the regulation of the pale, and even those which declared the right of succession to the throne, were received without opposition”—Leland, ii. 165. In fact it would seem that had the king merely exerted himself at this time to abolish the usurped jurisdiction of the pope, and the taxes which Rome extorted in connection with it, he might have succeeded in such an effort with the general consent of all the inhabitants of the kingdom; but the transferring of the profit and so much of the power to his own person, was a measure of course less likely to meet with a gentle reception.

A.D. 1536.

The act for
the king's
supremacy
strongly op-
posed by
some.

But the act which transferred the ecclesiastical supremacy to the king, was not allowed, with so little resistance, to become law. By the clerical body at least, it was met with no small opposition. The bishops, although they formed on this occasion a majority in the house of lords, yet were desirous if possible to prevent the measure from coming to be debated in that assembly at all, and endeavoured, by the use of indirect means, to hinder its progress through parliament, and so to defeat the designs of those who were for enacting it.

Office of the
proctors of
the clergy
in parlia-
ment.

It had been usual for two proctors of every diocese, as representatives of the clergy, to be summoned to parliament, "to be there as counsellors and assistants to the same, and upon such things of learning as should happen in controversy, to declare their opinions, much like as the convocation within the realm of England is commonly at every parliament begun and holden by the king's highness' special license."* Such was the description of their proper place and office, as defined by the highest legal authorities of the time of which we treat; the chief difference between them and the members of the lower house of convocation in England being, that the latter were accustomed to have a separate place of sitting for their debates, (from the close of the

* *Irish Statutes, 29th Henry VIII., c. xii.*

thirteenth century, or thereabouts,) while the Irish proctors of the clergy sat in the house of commons, and fulfilled their office there; nor did they meet as a completely separate body, in the form of a convocation, so far as our records inform us, before the year 1615.*

A. D. 1536.

But the office of these Irish proctors, whether from not having been often called into exercise, or for whatever other reasons, appears not to have been very clearly defined or well understood at the time of the parliament of 1536, although it had now existed for about two centuries. For it seems that they claimed on this occasion the right, not only of assisting with their counsel, but also of voting, as if they formed part and parcel of the parliament, so as that nothing could be enacted at any parliament without their consent. And a question having been subsequently raised about this matter, when some bills that had passed the commons were delivered by the speaker to the upper house to be debated there, the spiritual lords "made a general answer that they would not come in nor debate upon any bill until they knew whether the proctors in the convocation had a voice or not;"† hoping thus, it would seem, to frustrate acts which they had

A dispute arises concerning their privileges, and whether they had a right to vote in the house

* Vid. Mant, l. 281. Phelan's *Policy*, p. 60, and the articles in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Journal*, already referred to.

† Vid. *Irish State Papers*, Henry VIII., vol. II. part III. p. 437. Mant, l. 118, seqq.

A. D. 1536.

The question is ruled, and confirmed by statute against the proctors.

no inclination to confirm. But the lord deputy, judging it to be very unreasonable that seven or eight proctors (and there were at times no more in attendance) should be able to annul an act to which the king, lords, and commons had agreed, thought it well to summon to him "all the king's learned counsel," to debate the matter with the prelates, who showed to them by their own reasoning, supported by the opinions of the learned men of England, that the proctors had no voice in parliament. This however does not appear satisfactorily to have decided the matter; for shortly after the lord deputy wrote a letter to England, to Lord Cromwell, (the king's agent in ecclesiastical matters,) urging the necessity of settling this point in some conclusive way. A bill was accordingly framed and sent over to Ireland, and also passed by this parliament, enacting that "the proctors should not be deemed or taken from the first day of the present parliament, as parcels or members of the same, but only as counsellors and assistants;" and that they should neither give nor have any voice or opinion that should be regarded as necessary for the sanction of any act.* Various acts of parliament had passed before this time, to which the proctors of the clergy had expressly refused their consent; and although this circumstance was noted in the register of those acts, yet were those acts good and

* *Irish Statutes*, 26th Henry VIII., c. xii. Mant. I. 122.

valid in law. For the proctors in Ireland could no more hinder the passing of an act of parliament than the convocation in England; and the same royal tyranny which awed the latter into a degrading subserviency, was not less effectual in coercing the former. The lay commons did not, it would seem, give much countenance to the opposition of their clerical brethren; for a contemporary letter states that they showed themselves in this parliament "merveilous good for the kinges causez."* A. D. 1534.

In the passing of the acts aforesaid, Archbishop Browne was by no means an idle spectator of the proceedings connected with them. He on the contrary exerted himself with much effect in promoting their enactment, and especially that of the Act of Supremacy; in favour of which he delivered a short, but earnest and pithy, speech before the parliament, telling them at the close that he who would not pass this act was no true subject of King Henry. This address of the archbishop, seconded by an effective appeal from Justice Brabazon, appears to have strongly in-

Archbishop
Browne's
activity on
this occa-
sion.

* *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 316. Leland however says, (vol. ii. p. 164.) that "when the Act of Supremacy came to be proposed, lords and commons joined in expressing their abhorrence of the spiritual authority claimed by the king, while the ministers and royal party were equally determined in defence of it." He adds that fear allayed the violence of such as were not open to the force of other motives of persuasion.

A.D. 1536.

The supremacy claimed by pope and king consisted in a great measure of time

fluenced the votes of those who were present on this occasion.*

In further explanation of the supremacy which afforded matter for so much debating it may be noticed, that what the king chiefly contended for was civil and temporal jurisdiction. Christ

* Some late writers have shown a disposition to charge the proceedings of this period with much informality and want of ecclesiastical order, if not (as a result of this) with a want of lawful authority: matters appearing to have been transacted in parliament which should more properly have been submitted to a synod of the Church. Had such a synod however been thought necessary, it could no doubt easily have been convened by the influence of Henry. But neither the civil nor ecclesiastical authorities of that day seem to have thought any thing to be wanting to complete the sanction of the acts then introduced; and to require them to have acted on principles developed in later times, were idle.

Mac Geoghegan says that the *Act of Supremacy* met with much opposition from the clergy, who were however so "disconcerted" by the speeches of Browne and Brabazon, "that they submitted to all." Quoted in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Journal*, November, 1845, p. 239. I trust I shall be excused for appearing to attach any weight to the rhapsodies of this fable-writer; to whom reference is made in this work, only because, strange to say, his book appears to be regarded as an oracle by some in England, who are however more distinguished, it would seem, by a laudable inquisitiveness about Irish matters, than by any large extent of knowledge, or deep research, in our historical records.

It may be well to notice here an incorrect statement relative to the Act of Succession, occurring in the Right Rev. Bishop Mant's *Church History of Ireland*, at the commencement of chapter iv. (vol. i. p. 229,) where it is observed that the Irish Statute of the twenty-eighth year of King Henry VIII., ch. ii., in favour of the Lady Elizabeth, had never been repealed by any Irish act. It was however almost immediately repealed, (as Leland rightly observes—see his *History of Ireland*, ii. 163,) on the divorce of Anna Boleyn, to make room for Jane Seymour and her issue. The act (ch. xvii. of the same session) which was substituted in its place, reenacts all the provisions of the former statute against the authority of Rome; the marriage which it went to establish being as much against the pope's judgment as that with Queen Anne had been.

never appointed His ministers judges in cases of wills, matrimony, &c. But the first emperors who embraced Christianity conferred this temporal authority upon Christian bishops, allowing them to give judgment in such cases according to the common law of the land. In process of time however the pope's flatterers would have it that it was from him this power was derived, and not from the king; and they even went further, and asserted that the clergy were not subject to the king's tribunals, but only to the pope's jurisdiction. Even Roman Catholic writers however of learning and candour acknowledge, that the jurisdiction thus claimed for the popes, belongs of right, and by the canons of the ancient Catholic Church, to secular princes; and that the Act of Supremacy itself was, in its intent, only in accordance with ancient Catholic laws.* To this ancient supremacy however, the act of 1536 added important visitatorial powers to be conferred by it on the crown, which would seem to belong more properly to the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical authorities.

A. D. 1536.

temporal and
secular au-
thority.

The nature of the supremacy and allegiance of his subjects which the king contended for,

Traitorous
proceedings
of Pope
Paul III.

* S Co. *Cowdrie's case*, quoted in Burn's *Ecclesiastical Law*, under Courts, § 6. Peter Walsh's *History of Remonstrance*, Introduction; and O'Connor's *Historical Address*, quoted in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Journal*, January, 1846, p. 297.

A. D. 1836.

Romish vow
of obedience
circulated
in Ireland,
May, 1836.

and the sentiments of those who opposed themselves to his endeavours in this matter, will be better understood from perusing the following sentences extracted from a vow of obedience to the pope, which, pursuant to a commission received from Rome, the archbishop of Armagh and his clergy circulated and enforced among their people at this time:—

“I, A. B., from this present hour forward, in the presence of the Holy Trinity, &c. . . . shall and will be always obedient to the Holy See of St. Peter of Rome, and to my holy lord the pope of Rome, and his successors, in all things, as well spiritual as temporal, &c., &c.

“I count all acts, made or to be made by heretical powers, of no force, or to be practised, or obeyed by myself, or any other son of the mother Church of Rome.

“I do further declare him or her, father or mother, brother or sister, son or daughter, husband or wife, uncle or aunt, nephew or niece, kinsman or kinswoman, master or mistress, and all others, nearest or dearest relations, friend or acquaintance whatsoever, accursed, that either do or shall hold, for time to come, any ecclesiastical or civil above the authority of the mother Church, or that do or shall obey for the time to come, any of her the mother Church's opposers or enemies, or contrary to the same, of

which I have here sworn unto; so God, the blessed Virgin, St. Peter, St. Paul, and the holy evangelists, help," &c.*

A.D. 1586.

How far these sentiments, inculcated by the Church of Rome upon her adherents in Ireland, agreed with those which she had learned from SS. Peter and Paul, it is needless to say. The working of such principles was however, afterwards strikingly exhibited in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when Pope Pius V. published his bull of excommunication against her; or, if we use the language of a Romish historian of Ireland, "deservedly deprived her of her kingdom,"† the consequence of which was, that such of our poor countrymen as he could seduce to follow his wicked and anti-christian devices, were instigated to unite themselves in all the ties of bigotry and rebellion combined, to overthrow the government of their lawful sovereign.

Similar conduct of Pope Pius V., and its effects.

The king's supremacy was now established by act of parliament, with the assent of the Irish prelates, and by the same authority various taxes already alluded to, and formerly paid to Rome, were now made payable to his majesty. But there remained yet much difficulty in the execution of these acts, Archbishop Browne having but few of the bishops to assist his endeavours, the number of them that were then so favourable to

Archbishop Browne's exertions to promote reformation, ill seconded by the other prelates and clergy of Ireland.

* Cox, l. 287, 288. See also p. 706, inf.

† O'Sullivan.

A.D. 1538.

reformation as to be willing to take an active part in it, being very small. But the archbishop himself was most diligent and incessant in his labours, notwithstanding all opposition, preaching continually against the supremacy of the pope, the worship of images, and the error of trusting in the saints in place of Christ, the one Mediator between God and sinners. Of the character of those with whom he had to deal in these matters he complains, (in a letter to Lord Cromwell, written in April, 1538,) that "the people of this nation be zealous, yet blind and unknowing;" and that "most of the clergy" were "ignorant, and not able to speak right words in the mass or liturgy, as being not skilled in the Latin grammar, so that a bird might be taught to speak with as much sense as several of them do in this country;" and withal they were, "though not scholars, yet crafty to cozen the poor common people." In the same letter the archbishop complains also of the Primate Crommer that "he doth underhand occasion quarrels, as *is not active* to execute his highness's orders in his diocese;"* from which we may see that even the most influential opposer of the Reformation (so far as any advances towards it had yet been made) scarcely ventured openly to op-

* *Life of Archbishop Browne*, quoted in Mant, I. 136; see also p. 118.

pose the measures then in progress, although exerting himself to hinder them as far as possible, by passive resistance. It was in the course of the month following the date of this letter, that the traitorous document quoted a little above was received and circulated by the primate and his clergy. And about midsummer of the same year there was found on the person of a Franciscan friar, named Thady Birne, who was imprisoned in the castle of Dublin, a letter to the great O'Nial, dated at Rome, April 28, 1538, exciting him to rebellion, in the names of the pope and cardinals, and bearing the signature of the bishop of Metz. Nor were such pious exhortations lost upon O'Nial, who, though caring not for religion, but only for plunder, declared himself, early in the following year, the champion of the papacy; and aided by others of the Irish leaders, took the field, and committed great devastations, until they were defeated in a battle fought at Bellahoe, on the borders of Meath, by the lord deputy Gray, aided by the small body of troops belonging to the valiant Sir William Brereton.*

A.D. 1538.

O'Nial, instigated by the pope, engages in rebellion, but is defeated.

This Lord Gray was soon after (*i.e.* early in 1540) recalled, brought to trial in England, and

Lord Gray's character and end.

* Mant, i. 140. In excursions such as that of O'Nial here mentioned, "whatever were the professed objects of the leaders, those of their ill-governed followers were plunder and prey."—Leland, ii. 176.

A. D. 1536. executed for various crimes alleged against him, including several acts of sacrilege; for although apparently no favourer of reformation, but charged with "having a special zeal" for image worship, and other like Romish superstitions, he had yet been guilty of many acts of profaneness and irreligion towards different churches, abbeys, &c., such as burning the cathedral of Down, defacing the monuments of SS. Patrick, Brigid, and Columba, and turning the place into a stable.*

Form of
"the Beads"
set forth by
Archbishop
Brown.

But to return to our more proper subject. The mass was still used in the Latin tongue: but the archbishop set forth for the use of all his clergy a form of prayer in English, called the "Form of the Beads," or prayers which they were to teach the people to use, containing petitions for the Catholic Church, the king, and clergy, and such others as he thought suitable to suggest to them. This form sets forth among many other things, that "the unlawful jurisdiction long usurped by the bishop of Rome, then called pope, is now by God's law, by authority of parliament, and by and with the whole consent and agreement of all the bishops, prelates, and both the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and also the whole clergy, both of England and Ireland, extinct and ceased for ever,

* Mant, l. p. 142. Vid. Leland, 172, seqq.

as of no strength, value, or effect in the Church of England and Ireland." It sets forth in like manner the king's supremacy, and charging the bishop of Rome with being an usurper "not only upon God, but also upon our princes," it encourages the people to "fear not his great thunder claps of excommunication or interdiction, for they cannot hurt you; but let us put all our confidence and trust in our Saviour Jesus Christ, which is gentle and loving, and requireth nothing of us when we have offended him, but that we should repent and forsake our sins, and believe steadfastly that He is Christ, the Son of the living God, and that He died for our sins, and so forth, as it is contained in the Credo, and that through Him, and by Him, and by none other, we shall have remission of our sins, *a pena et culpa*, according to His promises made to us in many and divers places of Scripture."

A.D. 1538.

About Christmas, A. D. 1538, Archbishop Browne, with the lord chancellor and other members of the privy council of Ireland, made a visitation of "the four shires above the Barrow," namely, Carlow, Wexford, Waterford, and Tipperary, for the purposes of "the setting forth of the Word of God, abolishing of the bishop of Rome's usurped authority, and extinguishing of idolatry," as well as for "the keeping of sessions,

Visitation of
4 counties in
Leinster by
Archbishop
Browne, &c.
Decem. 1538.

* Ib. 144, 146, and the *State Papers*, as there quoted.

A.D. 1539.

and redress of the people's complaints." In the various places to which they came, the archbishop exerted himself diligently in preaching on the subjects connected with the occasion of this visitation.*

The archbp.
preaches at
Kilkenny.
Jan. 1, 1539.

Having first proceeded to Carlow, they went thence to Kilkenny, where on New-year's Day, 1539, "the archbishop of Dublin preached the Word of God, having very good audience," among whom were "the bishop and other prelates of the diocese," to whom they gave copies of the king's injunctions, and of his translation into English of the Lord's Prayer, Hail Mary, the Creed, and Ten Commandments, desiring them to circulate these papers in their several districts.

At Ross,
January 3.

On the Saturday following they repaired to Ross, where the archbishop preached on the following morning, Sunday, January 5, after which they went the same night to Wexford, and there on the day following, which was the festival of the Epiphany, the archbishop again preached, "having a great audience," and doing all things there as they had done at Kilkenny.

At Wexford,
January 6.

At Water-
ford, Jan. 12.

On the next Saturday, January 11, they came to Waterford, where the mayor and his brethren kindly entertained them during their stay, and obediently conformed to their orders. There

* *State Papers*, vol. III. part 3, pp. 108—116. *Mant*, p. 150.

likewise on Sunday (January the 12th) Archbishop Browne preached, "having a very great audience," and also delivered the king's injunctions, &c., as had been done at Kilkenny, Ross, and Wexford.

On Saturday, the 18th of the same month, they were at Clonmel, where on the day following the archbishop was to preach again as on the former occasions, in the presence of all the bishops of Munster; "who upon our commandment," say the members of the council, "be repaired hither for the most part already, and or they depart, they shall be sworn to the supremacy of the king, and against the bishop of Rome." This statement occurs in a letter addressed to Lord Cromwell by those privy councillors, dated at Clonmel, January 18, 1539, and giving a detail of their proceedings, from which is extracted the account here set before the reader.

A. D. 1539.

At Clonmel,
January 19.

In another letter of February 8, written after they had returned to Dublin, and bearing the signatures of the archbishop and his companions, they report thus:—"At Clonmel was with us two archbushops, [Cashel and Tuam] and eight bushops, in whose presence my Lord of Dublin preached, in advauncing the Kinges supremacy and the extinguishment of the Bushop of Rome. And his sermon fynysshed, all the bushops in all thoppen audience toke the othe mencioned where the oath of supremacy is administered to many of the southern Irish prelates, &c.

A. D. 1540.

The lord
deputy's
frowardness
to the arch-
bishop.

Alacrity of
the lay no-
bles of Ire-
land in sup-
porting the
king's su-
premaccy.

in the Actes of parliament, bothe touching the Kinge's succession and supremacy, befor me, the Kinge's Chaunceller, and divers others ther present ded the lieke."* The lord deputy however was so far from co-operating with Archbishop Browne in his exertions to promote reformation, that he on the contrary treated him with much hardship and persecution.

The measures which were introduced by government for establishing the king's supremacy, and abolishing that of the pope, were confirmed by the fullest sanction of the lay aristocracy of Ireland; the lords of English descent and those of the native Irish race appearing to rival one another in their protestations of undivided allegiance to the king, and their professions of a determination to support and maintain the rights which he had asserted as belonging to his crown. The earl of Desmond was the first who presented himself, and he on the 16th of January, 1540, signed a written document, in which he "utterly denied and promised to forsake, the usurped primacy and authority of the bishop of Rome, and engaged to resist and repress the same, and

* In connection with the submission of the Irish prelates to Henry, it is observable that none of them were to be found in attendance at the Council of Trent: the first who sat there with *the name* of an Irish bishop being Robert Waucop, whose case is noticed towards the close of this chapter. Three others are said to have attended in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, (*vid.* Appendix, No. xrv.) but they were like Waucop only titulars.

all that should by any means uphold or maintain it."* Some other lords of the English race, who had been estranged from the English interest, followed this example and returned to their allegiance.†

But a notion, it seems, had gone abroad among the people, that the title of *Lords of Ireland*, which had been adopted by the English monarchs, contained a sort of implied proof that they were not the kings of this island, but only a kind of governors under the pope, to whom, according to this supposition, the supreme royalty of the island rightfully belonged. And this notion led many of the Irish people to pay more respect to the authority of the bishop of Rome than to that of the king of England. The title of kings of Ireland had indeed been granted in the twelfth century by the popes to Henry II., his son John, and their successors, but it had very soon gone into disuse. The recognition of the king's supremacy in Ireland by the adoption of his royal title had therefore been recommended, on this ground, to his majesty's commissioners in 1537, by Allen master of the rolls, and it had also been urged upon the lord deputy St. Leger in the following year, by Staples bishop of Meath. An act of parliament was therefore passed in 1541, (when after the recal of Lord Gray,

A.D. 1540.

The title of King of Ireland conferred on Henry VIII. by the Irish parliament, A.D. 1541.

* Phelan's Policy, p. 82.

† Leland, ii. 177.

A. D. 1541.

Rejoicings
on the occa-
sion.

St. Leger was again deputy,) ordaining that the king of England should in future bear the name of king, instead of lord, of Ireland; and that proclamation to this effect should be made in every shire in the island. The publication of this edict, which gave great satisfaction to the entire kingdom, was attended in Dublin in particular with special rejoicings. There on the Sunday after it had passed, it was proclaimed with great pomp and solemnity in St. Patrick's Cathedral, in presence of the lord deputy, and several of the nobility, bishops, and clergy; mass having been previously performed by the archbishop of Dublin: and on the same day great bonfires were lighted in the streets, guns fired, and other indications of joy and festivity manifested through the city. For it was hoped that this new act would operate very beneficially in promoting peace and order throughout the kingdom.*

The Irish
princes una-
nimously
profess their

In the subsequent year the example of submission already set by the earl of Desmond, was followed generally by the native Irish princes.

* Ware's *Annals*, ad an. *State Papers*, vol. II. part 2, p. 480, and vol. III. p. 30. Cox, I. 770. *Irish Statutes*, 33 Henry VIII. c. 1. Mant, I. 163. Ware mentions the names of seven of the bishops who were present in this parliament. To increase the joyousness of the occasion, an order was issued by the authority of the lord deputy and parliament, for the release and pardon of all prisoners (excepting a few particular classes, wilful murder, debt, &c.) throughout the realm.—*Ireland*, II. 178, note.

O'Donel, in his indenture, bearing date the 6th of August, 1542, declares that, he will renounce, relinquish, and to the best of his power annihilate the "usurped authority of the Roman pontiff; that he will by no means harbour or allow in his country, those who adhere to the said pontiff, but will with all diligence expel, eject, and eradicate them, or bring them into subjection to our said lord the king."* His example was followed in a week after by Mac Mahon. In the January following O'Nial, the acknowledged leader of the northern Irish, met the king's commissioners at Maynooth, and entered into similar engagements; and in the course of that year the same was done by O'Brien, the first chieftain of Munster; by O'More, O'Rorke, Mac Donel, and by the head of the De Burgos, (or Burkes,) who was now known by the Irish title of Mac William. The Barrys, the Mac Carthys, the O'Sullevans, &c., &c., were equally decided in their professions of allegiance. In fact from Connaught, from Meath, from the remotest regions of the north and south, the great lords and those of inferior rank, the most turbulent heads of the Irish tribes, and those unruly nobles of the old

A.D. 1542.

determination to root up the pope's power out of the country

* The indentures, or deeds of submission, tendered on this occasion being of an interesting nature, and all drawn upon nearly the same terms, a copy of one of them, as a specimen, will be found in the Appendix, No. xxiii. Phelan, l. 23.

A.D. 1542.

English race who had adopted Irish manners, and lived for ages in rude independence, appeared all animated with one spirit of loyalty, and rallied round the throne in the great struggle then at issue, promising, to use their own words, that they would "accept and hold his majesty, and the kings his successors, as the supreme head on earth, immediately under Christ, of the Church of England and Ireland:" and that they would to the best of their power "annihilate the usurped primacy and authority of the bishop of Rome, and expel and eradicate all his favourers, abettors, and partizans." And "so universally were these submissions made all over the kingdom, that there was not a lord or chieftain of any note in Ireland but submitted in this or in the like form."*

* Cox, i. 274, 268, 271. Leland, ii. 180. O'Connor's *Historical Address*, ii. 279. Roman Catholic writers, unwilling to allow that there was such a general readiness, as really existed, on the part of the Irish nation at this time to throw off the yoke of the pope's supremacy, have been sorely puzzled to account for the facts above stated. The attempts at an explanation of them furnished by O'Connor and Mac Geoghegan are unreasonable enough. But far and away beyond all has Dr. Burke won the palm of folly in this matter, by his note on the subject; attributing, as he does, Henry's popularity with the Irish to the pope himself. "In this distracted state," says he, "Ireland continued until the time of Henry VIII., who by the title of Defender of the Faith, which he obtained from the apostolic see, so captivated the affections of the Irish people, that he was enabled to enjoy a larger extent of power in their land than any of his predecessors had enjoyed before him. Hence even after the schism he was pronounced king of Ireland by the parliament of Dublin, in A.D. 1541"—*Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 20; i. e. the people of Ireland had such a reverence for the pope's authority, and consequently for the

The fact of the matter was, that these Irish chieftains knew little or nothing of theology, and had never cared much about the pope's supremacy. They knew however, or might very easily have known, that it had been the means of wresting privileges from themselves, and that in the altered constitution of their country it had placed the bishops' rank above their own. And therefore if the bishops of three provinces had shown some readiness in submitting to the king's views on the subject of this supremacy, it need not much be wondered at if the chieftains did so with still greater alacrity. Moreover the power of the English government had not been for ages so strong as it was at this time in Ireland; and the king, notwithstanding all the serious changes which had been made by him in the state of religion, was still, it seems, not a little popular in the country.*

The unanimity with which the Irish princes expressed their willingness to conform them-

A. D. 1542.

The submission of these chieftains not to be wondered at.

The pope's authority and curses

person of him to whom that authority had once given the name of Defender of the Faith, that they could not but still honour and exalt that person, even after they had seen him by the same authority deposed, excommunicated, and accursed. See also O'Connor's *Columbus*, No. 2, xxxviii. and Mac Geoghegan, p. 384.

* Leland, although he observes that many of the Irish chieftains may have been influenced to submit by terror, yet remarks that at this period "it grew fashionable to affect a zeal for government. . . . For the present an unusual degree of peace seemed to have spread through the island," . . . and in many parts of Ireland "the spirit of oxyaly" was become quite "outrageous."—*Hist. H.* 160, 165, 166.

A. D. 1542.
 completely
 despoiled in
 these pro-
 ceedings.

selves to the desires of King Henry, is the more remarkable as being in direct defiance of the denunciations of Rome. For it was now some years since Pope Paul III. had passed his final sentence upon the English monarch, dethroning him, pronouncing him infamous, dissolving all leagues between him and other Catholic princes, giving away his kingdoms to invaders, commanding his nobles to take up arms against him, cutting him off from Christian burial, and condemning him "to eternal damnation." This awful sentence had been passed against Henry VIII., in a bull dated August 30, 1535,* but it was not openly denounced at that time, the pope delaying the publication of such a fearful judgment until the case should appear desperate, and no further hope remain of repentance on the part of the royal culprit. Meanwhile Henry and all his adherents were cited to appear in Rome within ninety days, to answer for their crimes. But at length, in the close of the year 1538, the pontiff seeing no advantage likely to arise from further delay, the censures above mentioned were by him solemnly confirmed, and an order issued for their publication in a second

* This bull may be seen at length among the documents appended to Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, vol. i. *Records* to Book III. pp. 166—175. *Yello. Lond. 1681.* The sentence of "damnation" is at p. 169.

bull,* dated on the 17th of December, in the said year. In the two bulls are specified the names of five or six different places, in some two of which these precious productions were to be published; and among the towns thus mentioned in them, the pope includes "Tuam or Ardfert in Ireland;"† it having been intimated to him, as he there observes, that the publication of his threatening notices in either of these places would answer very well the purpose of bringing their contents to the knowledge of all those whom they might concern.

A. D. 1542.

And in the same year, 1538, as we have already seen, the pope had also exercised his tyrannical and usurped authority by issuing an oath to be enforced among the Irish people, binding them to allegiance to his own authority, and obliging them to regard as accursed all who should obey their heretic prince. And yet so little did the Irish chieftains regard those curses, that even while the vapour of them was still fresh in the land, they all with one accord combined to do homage to the authority of the condemned sovereign. In their parliament they assigned to him a new title of dominion to confirm his prerogatives; and what was a far greater mark of condescension and submissiveness on their parts,

* This bull also is given at p. 175, seqq. ib.

† p. 176, ib.

A. D. 1542.

they also consented to accept English titles of rank from his hand. Thus O'Donel consented to receive that of earl of Tyrconnel; OBrien, that of earl of Thomond; and De Burgo, whose family for many generations had laid aside the English manners, was now willing to be known as earl of Clanricarde, and others in like manner.*

Some particulars in the history of the O'Nial family noticed.

The case of the O'Nial family, from its connection with our subject, deserves particular notice in this place. Their feeling towards England is sufficiently illustrated by what is recorded of Con O'Nial, who enjoyed at this time the chief dignity among his kinsmen; of whom we read, that he pronounced a curse on any of the name of O'Nial that should ever conform to the English manners, or associate with the Saxons.† A lesson which his son John so well learned, that he hanged, we are told, one of his followers for having so far degenerated from his native manners as to feed on English biscuit.‡ The principal members of the family however, whether from policy or sounder motives, were often found to live on friendly terms with the English government; and Con himself, notwithstanding his own curse, made most ample submission to Henry VIII. on the occasion before us, having waited on him at Greenwich for the

A.D. 1542.

* Leland, ii. 150, seqq.

† Ib. p. 202.

‡ Ib. p. 226.

purpose, accompanied by the bishop of Clogher.* He also surrendered all his estates and Irish titles, and agreed to adopt the English habit, manners, and language, and to assist the king against his enemies. Whereupon he was distinguished by his majesty with many marks of favour, having his estates granted to him anew by royal patent, and receiving the title of earl of Tyrone in return for the Irish one of THE O'NIAL, which he had renounced. He also obtained for his illegitimate son Matthew, the title of baron of Dungannon; his two legitimate sons, John and Hugh, being slighted in this matter, in consequence of his partiality for Matthew. But of their history, more hereafter.

A. D. 1542.

And now that the pope's supremacy in Ireland was abolished by the king, by the parliament, (including the consent of a house of lords, where the prelates formed a majority,†) and by the princes generally throughout the country, all appeared ripe for reformation, so as to afford a prospect, that if a wise and enlightened policy were adopted by government, the temporal and spiritual welfare of the people might be greatly furthered. But it would be too much to expect such results from any measures likely to be

This crisis
an important one in
our Church
annals.

* i.e. a bishop of the pope's appointment, who was however on this occasion (after submitting to the king, and renouncing his bulls, vid. p. 620, sup.) confirmed in his see by the royal authority.

† Mant. i. 120.

A.D. 1542. adopted in the time of Henry VIII., when so little progress in the knowledge of the principles by which this people ought to be governed, has been made in the lapse of the centuries which have since then intervened.

Assertion of
the king's
supremacy
the most
important
measure of
this reign.

The establishment of the royal supremacy, concerning which so much has now been said, was by far the most important alteration connected with religion which took place during the reign of Henry VIII. For it was this that rendered reformation of other errors in any sense practicable, there being no hope nor possibility of improvement so long as the Irish Church acknowledged an Italian bishop for her supreme head, and consented to remain at his will fettered with the bonds of slavery, subject to his monstrous usurpation, and encumbered with a mass of errors that, like a millstone tied about her neck, tended to sink her in the sea of gross and degrading superstitions which were then prevalent.

Henry VIII.
no favourer
of sound
reform ;

but on the
contrary a
bigoted
Romanist.

But although King Henry knew well how to defend his royal rights from the encroachments of a foreign potentate, and though his exertions to promote this end were kindly overruled by Providence, so as to lead to real reformation, yet this latter was a thing of which he himself seems to have been little desirous. He was in doctrine a decided Romanist, and would probably never

have sanctioned the further changes which were made in the state of religion under his children, Edward and Elizabeth. The Church of Ireland also suffered no small harm and injury through his means, and that in various ways.

A.D. 1542.

Thus when he had effected the dissolution of great numbers of monasteries in Ireland, (commencing with forty of the lesser ones in 1528, and seizing on them more generally in 1536 and the following years,) instead of bestowing their incomes on the amelioration of the Church, or expending them in providing for the religious or secular improvement of the people in any other way, caring little apparently for the impoverishment of the Church, he misapplied those revenues to the purposes of promoting his own gratification, or enriching his favourites.*

His injurious treatment of ecclesiastical property.

And again, when Primate Cromer died in A.D. 1543, King Henry appointed as his successor George Dowdall, a man strongly attached to the Romish religion, and firmly opposed to the alterations then in progress; so much so, that although he consented to receive his appointment from the king, he endeavoured afterwards, but ineffectually, to have it confirmed by the pope. Dowdall had been promised the preferment in the preceding year, having obtained this advantage by the interest of the lord deputy St. Leger,

Appointment of Geo. Dowdall to the archbishopric of Armagh, Decr. 1543.

* Mant, l. 154, seqq. and 182.

A. D. 1542.

The pope
appoints a
different
person;

who is sanc-
tioned by
the Council
of Trent;
but rejected
unanimous-
ly by the
Irish.

when he had made a voluntary surrender to the king of the friary of Ardee, of which he had been prior. He was, after election by the chapter of Armagh, consecrated archbishop of that see, by Staples bishop of Meath, and other bishops, early in December, 1543.*

Meanwhile the pope seeing that Dowdall had been consecrated without his knowledge or sanction, was determined, although he was a man of great learning and irreproachable manners, and also an assiduous preacher and a zealous advocate of the Romish religion, to supersede him and appoint another; and he accordingly nominated to the archbishopric of Armagh, Robert Waucop, a Scotchman, by some named also Venantius. Waucop however exerted himself in vain to raise a party against Dowdall, all the suffragan bishops of the province of Armagh, (as well as the other bishops of Ireland,) supporting the latter, as a prelate that had been lawfully elected and rightly consecrated; and although Waucop sat as archbishop of Armagh at the Council of Trent, from the first session in 1545 to the eleventh in 1547; and although his name occurs among the signatures in the records of the council; yet the Irish Church and nation never acknowledged him as their primate, but in defiance of pope and "ge-

* Mant, l. 175, seqq. *State Papers*, vol. III. part 3, p. 426.

neral council" adhered steadily to him that had taken the oath of supremacy to the king, thus maintaining also by their own conduct, the principle of that supremacy.* A. D. 1543.

* Even "when Dowdall in consequence of his opposition to the English liturgy was disgraced at court and retired to foreign parts, and Goodacre was appointed to succeed him, though he never had any provision or confirmation from the pope, the suffragans still adhered to him as their lawful metropolitan, rejecting both Goodacre and Wauchop as intruders into the metropolitan see." Dr. O'Connor's *Columbanus ad Hib. Corresp. between Drs. Troy and O'Connor*, p. 80.

At the opening of the Council of Trent on December 13th, 1545, only four archbishops were present, of whom two were titulars, viz.—Olaus of Upsal in Sweden, and our friend Wauchop, whose name occurs among the four archiepiscopal signatures in the form "Armachanus." At the second session in January, 1546, the same four archbishops were the only ones present. The other sessions at which Wauchop was present, (as appears by his signature in the records of the council,) were the third, (February 4, 1546;) the fourth, (on the 8th of April,) the fifth, (June 17,) where he signs himself (as also in the subsequent sessions) *Reverendus Dominus Robertus Vvaucop, Archiepiscopus Armachanus, Scotus*; the sixth, (January 13, 1547,) the seventh, (March 3,) the eighth, (March 11,) the ninth, (April 21,) the tenth, (June 2,) where the signature is again "Armachanus." The signatures to the 11th and 12th sessions are not given. In session thirteenth, (October 11, 1551,) Wauchop does not appear; nor in any of the subsequent lists; for he died at the Jesuit's College in Paris in the said year 1551. Vid. Labbe and Coss. *Concil. tom. xiv. coll. 733, 741, 743, 745, 749, 771, 774, 785, 788, 790, 814. Ware's Bishops*, p. 93. *Baronii Annal. Eccl. Cont. per H. Spondanum*, vol. ii. cap. 3, p. 494, an. 1546. Lugdun. 1678. Joan Sleidan. *Comment. de Stat. Relig. an. 1546*, p. 488. Francofurt. 1610. Pallavicino, *Istoria del Conc. di Trento*, tom. i. p. 533. Roma, 1656.

Wauchop is transmitted by history with the glory, or rather the shame, of having been the first to introduce the Jesuits into Ireland, with the favour and countenance of the pope, a mission by "the dismal and horrible effects" of which, Ireland hath been ever since miserably embroiled. Vid. Cox, i. 272. Mant, i. 181. "Besides this eminent service," says Mr. Phelan, "three things conspired to give celebrity to Robert Wauchop. He was blind from his birth; he rode post better than any man of his time; he was one of three cotem-

A. D. 1543.

Reform of
some abuses
effected dur-
ing this
reign.

Although Henry VIII. appears to have been little influenced by the principles which should actuate a sincere and genuine reformer, yet many of his advisers and agents were better men than himself, and through their instrumentality much good was effected during his reign. The exertions of Archbishop Browne, of Staples bishop of Meath, and of the few other bishops and clergy of Ireland who were desirous of reformation, had done much already to correct abuses and prepare the way for further improvements. In particular, idolatry had been to a great extent abolished in Dublin and elsewhere, and the images and other objects of superstitious veneration of which the churches had been full, were removed to make way for English translations of the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments. These latter formed somewhat more suitable embellishments for the walls of the places of Christian worship, and unlike their predecessors, tended to inform and edify the minds of the attendant worshippers.

porary archbishops of Armagh. The pope nominated Waucop; the dean and chapter, Dowdall; and the crown, Goodacre." In this however the eloquent writer has committed a flagrant mistake. Waucop died in 1551. Goodacre was consecrated February 2, 1553. They were therefore not cotemporaries, nor rivals in the see. Dowdall, as well as Goodacre, was nominated by the crown. Moreover, Waucop appears to have been not blind, but very near-sighted. Sleidan indeed says he was "caucus," but Pallavicino and Spondanus agree in correcting the expression. His talent for posting seems undeniable.

Before concluding our observations on the reign of Henry VIII., it may be well to suggest to the reader of these pages the necessity of bearing in mind that up to this time there was no open schism in the Church of Ireland. There did not as yet exist here two separate bodies of Christians, such as we have at this day, each with its own rulers, and each claiming for the bishops of its own party the spiritual allegiance of the people of Ireland. Archbishop Browne and the promoters of reformation, and Primates Cromer and Dowdall who resisted its progress, and strove to maintain still the former state of things, were members of the same Church, only differing in their sentiments and views of Christian doctrine, and in their judgment of what was most profitable for that Church to which they both belonged. The men who contended at this time for the support of the pope's authority in any degree, were members and prelates of the Irish Church; and it was not until afterwards, (in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, or rather, as we shall see, in that of her successor,*) that the pope found it necessary to have recourse to the desperate expedient of forming a new, a second Church in Ireland, the heads of the old one having altogether deserted him, and discarded the restraints of his pretended authority over them.

A. D. 1546.

No schism
in the
Church of
Ireland at
this time.

* See chap. ix. inf.

CHAP. II.

PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION IN IRELAND UNDER KING
EDWARD VI.

A. D. 1547.

The Reformation
religion advances
feebly under
Edward VI.,

being impeded by serious evils.

In the person of Edward VI. we meet with a prince possessed of a sincere zeal for true religion, and well disposed to countenance and promote, as far as in him lay, the work of reformation. But his youthful piety was not permitted long to adorn the throne of this empire, for God whom he served and loved was pleased at an early stage of his mortal career to transfer him from an earthly to a heavenly kingdom. Some important benefits were indeed conferred upon the Irish Church in the six years of his reign; but they were much less considerable than might have been expected: owing probably to the circumstance that the young king's advisers and guardians were cautious of adopting during his minority any strong measures affecting the state of religion in this country. Meanwhile there continued to exist very serious evils which must have tended greatly to defeat any exertions that might be made towards improvement; and for such evils there was no sufficient remedy provided. In illustration of these remarks it

will be sufficient to refer to the plunder and destruction of churches, and robbery of other ecclesiastical property, which was carried on under the pretence of removing images and relics, and abolishing superstition; and to the great deficiency that existed of any means for instructing the people generally, by teaching or preaching, in their duties to God and man.

A. D. 1547.

The majority of the bishops and clergy at this time were in favour of the Romish creed and practice, under the patronage of Primate Dowdall. But King Edward having several opportunities when vacancies occurred among the Irish bishops, of appointing others, took care to make his selections in such a way as to increase the number of prelates favourable to religious reformation. And thus five at least of those appointed by him were friends and supporters of the Reformation: namely Lancaster of Kildare, Travers of Leighlin, Casey of Limerick, Bale of Ossory, and finally, Goodacre archbishop of Armagh, appointed to succeed to Primate Dowdall. All these were nominated in 1550, and the two following years.*

Several prelates favourable to the Reformation appointed during this reign.

But the most striking improvement in the state of religion in Ireland during this reign, was the introduction of the English Liturgy into the churches, in accordance with an order from

Use of the English Liturgy introduced into Ireland, A.D. 1561.

* Mart. L. 191.

A.D. 1551. the king addressed to the lord deputy, Sir Anthony St. Leger, and bearing date February 6, 1551.*

Assembly of
the prelates
and clergy
on this
occasion.

The first step taken by the viceroy on receiving this order, and before he proceeded to notify it by a general proclamation, was to call together an assembly of the archbishops and bishops, and of the clergy of Ireland, on the 1st of March, 1551, and to acquaint them with his majesty's order, as also with the opinions of those bishops and clergy of England who had acceded to the order. Primate Dowdall, taking occasion to make answer to the lord deputy's communication, promptly availed himself of this opportunity, the first it would seem that had occurred since his promotion, for expressing publicly, before a general meeting of the prelates and clergy of the kingdom, his favourable inclination to the authority of the bishop of Rome, and his hostility to the proposed improvement in religious worship, and that exercise of the royal authority by which it was promoted. Giving utterance therefore to his opposition in strong terms, he accompanied his remarks by a contemptuous reflection on the English Service, which curiously illustrates the feelings of the Romish party in reference to the new liturgy, and to the principle of common prayer in general. "Then,"

* Mant, l. 192. Cox, l. 203. R. Ware's *Life of Archbishop Dowdall*, 12.

said he, "shall every illiterate fellow read mass;"

A. D. 1551.

grounding an absurd objection on that which was one of the great advantages of this new liturgy, viz., that it was composed in a language plain and intelligible to the unlearned members of the community.

Primate Dowdall's contemptuous observation on the new Liturgy.

To the primate's contemptuous objection the lord deputy returned a mild and judicious answer. "No," said he, "your grace is mistaken; for we have too many illiterate priests amongst us already, who neither can pronounce the Latin, nor know what it means, no more than the common people that hear them; but when the people hear the Liturgy in English, they and the priest will then understand what they pray for." To this argument the primate made answer by threatening language, bidding the lord deputy to "beware of the clergy's curse." Such a threat however had but little effect on the viceroy, who "feared," as he said, "no strange curse, so long as he might have the blessing of that which he believed to be the true Church of God."

The lord deputy's reply.

After a word or two more of argument about "the true Church," the primate and his party,* indignant it would seem at the opposition offered to their views, left the assembly. While the archbishop of Dublin remained and received

The primate and his party retire from the assembly.

* i. e. "several, perhaps all of the bishops within his jurisdiction who were present, except the bishop of Meath."—Mant, l. 197.

A.D. 1551.

from the lord deputy the king's order, which he also commended to his brethren that were present: and thereupon "several of the moderate of the bishops and clergy adhered to Archbishop Browne; among whom were Staples bishop of Meath; Lancaster bishop of Kildare; Travers bishop of Leighlin; and Coyn bishop of Limerick."^{*}

The order for the Liturgy carried into effect on Easterday.

The result of this assembly was a proclamation issued by the lord deputy for carrying the order into effect, and the consequent celebration of divine worship according to the English liturgy, on Easterday, in Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, in presence of the viceroy, the archbishop, and the mayor and bailiffs of the city, when the archbishop preached an able sermon on the eighteenth verse of the hundred and nineteenth Psalm—*Open mine eyes that I may see the wonders of thy law.*[†]

Sir James Crofts appointed viceroy.

Very soon after this the lord deputy St. Leger was recalled, and Sir James Crofts, a gentleman of his majesty's privy chamber, was appointed to the government of Ireland by letters patent, the 29th of April, 1551. Soon afterwards he arrived, bringing with him instructions for himself and the council, one of which was, "To propagate the worship of God in the *English* tongue; and the service to be translated into

^{*} Ib. 198. Ware's *Bishops*, p. 380. [†] Mant, l. 198. Cox, l. 290.

Irish in those places which need it." It would have been well had the purpose expressed in the latter clause of this sentence been as promptly and vigorously executed as it was happily and prudently projected. But it seems to have fallen to the ground, the short duration of the reign of King Edward having probably prevented its execution.

A. D. 1551.

The new viceroy Sir James Crofts has the character of having been "a zealous Protestant;" and agreeably to that character, as well as in dutiful discharge of the trust reposed in him by his sovereign, he lost no time on his arrival in endeavouring to persuade the primate into submission to the king's order concerning the liturgy. Having therefore been sworn into office on the 23rd of May, he wrote an earnest letter to Archbishop Dowdall, on the 16th of June, inviting him to a conference with the other prelates; and this proposal having been acceded to, the conference accordingly took place the next day, in the great hall of St. Mary's Abbey, where the primate was then residing. The lord deputy was accompanied by the bishops of Meath and Kildare, the former of whom was the chief speaker on their side in the debate with the primate which ensued. The particulars of this debate are recorded in a manuscript

He invites Archbishop Dowdall to a conference with some of the other prelates.

A.D. 1551.

Abstract of
the proceed-
ings of this
conference.

Dowdall's
defence of
prayer to
the Blessed
Virgin.

of the British museum,* and are interesting enough, but too long for full insertion here.

We may however briefly state that the primate commenced by dwelling on the antiquity of the mass, and condemning the liturgy as an innovation upon it, "established without the consent of the mother Church;" to which the bishop of Meath replied that "the liturgy is but the mass reformed and cleansed from idolatry," and that "there is no Church upon the face of the whole earth hath altered the mass more oftener than the Church of Rome." When the primate further asserted that the mass had been since the apostles' days, and that part of it had been attributed to St. Ambrose, Bishop Staples again replied that those two prayers attributed to St. Ambrose are spurious, in proof of which he quoted the authority of the learned Erasmus; and added, that Ambrose "had more of the truth and of God's Spirit in him than our latter bishops of Rome ever had, as to pray to the Blessed Virgin as if she had been a goddess." But said the primate "Was she not called 'blessed;' and did she not prophesy of herself, when she was to bear our Saviour Jesus Christ, that she would be called by all men 'blessed?' And is it not probable, that St. Ambrose desired the Blessed Virgin's mediation for him, as she

* Vid. Mant, l. 207.

is the mother of Christ? Are not children commanded by God's commandments to reverence and obey their parents? therefore, as he is a man, why may he not be subject?"

A.D. 1581.

To these arguments the bishop of Meath replied—that although the Virgin be called "blessed," yet others too are so named, even by Christ himself. "In his first sermon made by him in the mount, *Blessed*, saith he, *be the meek, be the merciful, be the pure in heart, &c.* . . . and St. Ambrose knew better, that he ought to apply to Jesus, the sole and only Mediator between him and God; and that as Christ is man, he is the Mediator. If the Blessed Virgin therefore can command her son in heaven to mediate, then St. Ambrose would have made her a goddess, or a coadjutor with God, who is Himself omnipotent. And lastly, if we make her a mediator as well as Christ, we do not only suspect Christ's insufficiency, but mistrust God's ordinances, thinking ourselves not sure by his promises to us and our forefathers, that Christ should be our Mediator."

Reply of the
bishop of
Meath.

Here the primate cut the matter short by suggesting that "all was in vain when two parties so contrary met; and that the lord deputy's pains would, he was sorry to say, be only lost:" he further added that his oath to the pope bound him to persevere in the course which he was

Conclusion
of the de-
bate.

A.D. 1551.

pursuing ; which same oath, Bishop Staples, he said, ought to remember that he himself had also taken. The bishop of Meath admitted he had taken the oath ; yet " held it safer for his conscience to break it than to observe it, believing it to be hard for any clergyman so swearing to be a true subject to his king if he observed the same." Upon this the debate ended ; and the lord deputy and the two bishops with him, arose and took their leave.

Dowdall is deprived of the title of Primate of all Ireland.

A contest for precedence, already alluded to, had been going on for some centuries between the archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, each claiming it in right of his see ; but latterly it had been enjoyed with little or no opposition by the archbishop of Armagh, who was distinguished by the title of primate of *all* Ireland, from the archbishop of Dublin, who styled himself only primate of Ireland. But in consequence of the obstinate opposition made by Archbishop Dowdall to the Reformation, and specially to the introduction of the liturgy, and in acknowledgment of the zeal, resolution, and extraordinary services of Archbishop Browne, by an act of the 20th of October, 1551, the king and council of England deprived the former of the primacy of all Ireland, and by letters patent conferred the title on the latter and his successors, and annexed it to the see of Dublin for ever.*

* Mant, i. 212. Ware's Bishops, p. 92.

Soon after this Archbishop Dowdall was either banished (as some think) from the kingdom, or else (which is perhaps more probable) withdrew voluntarily beyond the seas, retiring from his archbishopric in disgust with recent ecclesiastical changes. In either case the government considered the primacy to be vacant, and measures were accordingly taken for providing a successor.

A.D. 1551.
His subsequent exile.

It was thought convenient that this place, as well as the bishopric of Ossory, which had recently become vacant by the death of its former occupant, should be filled by Englishmen; and Archbishop Cranmer was therefore applied to, and requested to nominate some worthy persons for those preferments. Cranmer mentioned the names of four persons whom he thought suitable, and who, he supposed, would be "willing for conscience sake to bestow the talent committed unto them wheresoever it should please the king's majesty to call them." Of these four the one whom the archbishop judged fittest was named Whitehead, and next to him Turner; he added also the name of a fifth person, Hugh Goodacre, but doubted whether he would be persuaded to take this charge upon him; for independently of other obstacles to his doing so, the English, it seems, were never very fond of living in Ireland.*

Measures are taken for providing a successor to his see.

* Mant, l. 214.

A.D. 1552.

Character of
the person
selected for
the office by
the king.

The king selected Turner; a clergyman who, according to Archbishop Cranmer's account of him, "was merry and witty withal;" but what was of far more consequence, "he was one that *longed for nothing, thirsted for nothing, dreamed of nothing, save Christ Jesus* : and in the lively preaching of Him and His word, declared such diligence, faithfulness, and wisdom, as for the same deserveth much commendation." Preachers like the person here described would indeed have been much needed in Ireland at this period, there being a lamentable deficiency of such faithful instructors and pastors throughout the kingdom. "As for preaching, we have none, which is our lack," is the language of Thomas Cusacke, lord chancellor of Ireland, in a letter to the duke of Northumberland, dated May 8, 1552; in which same letter also the writer elsewhere observes, "that the poor and simple people be as soon brought to good order as to evil if they were taught accordingly; for hard is it for such men to know their duties to God and to the king, when they shall not hear teaching or preaching through all the year to edify the poor ignorant to know his duty."* Turner however, on being offered the preferment, and pressed by the archbishop to accept it, steadily refused to do so; urging that "if he were to come to Ireland, he

* Mant, i. 272. Leland, ii. 183, 194.

should have no auditors, but must preach to the walls and stalls; for the people understand no English." The archbishop on the other hand endeavoured to answer all his objections, though evidently himself very imperfectly informed on the subject. He told him "they did understand English in Ireland; though whether they did in the diocese of Armagh, he did indeed doubt. But to remedy that he advised him to learn the Irish tongue; which with diligence, he told him, he might do in a year or two; and that there would this advantage arise thereby, that both his person and doctrine would be more acceptable, not only unto his diocese, but also throughout all Ireland."*

A.D. 1553.

Turner however was resolute in his refusal, and in the end the charge fell to the lot of Hugh Goodacre, above mentioned; who was accordingly consecrated in Christ Church, Dublin, on February 2, 1553, by the archbishop of Dublin, assisted by the bishops of Kildare, and of Down and Connor; and on the same occasion, the celebrated John Bale, who was also an Englishman, was consecrated for the vacant bishopric of Ossory.†

Goodacre ultimately appointed primate.

It was on this occasion that the reformed ordination service which had been set forth in England in 1552, was first used in Ireland, where

First use of the English Reformed Ordination Service in Ireland.

* Mant, l. 215.

† *Ib.* p. 217.

A.D. 1532.

however its introduction appears to have been not yet fully established by law: the form heretofore employed in this country having been that of the old Latin Pontifical, accompanied by the Romish rites therein appointed to be used. And this same older form the archbishop of Dublin, we are told, was intending to use in the consecration of Goodacre and Bale, being partly influenced to do so by the suggestions of Lockwood dean of Christ's Church, who was a favourer of Romish ceremonies, and who protested earnestly against the use of the English form, alleging "that it would be an occasion of tumult, as well as that it wanted authority by the Irish laws." The lord chancellor is said to have agreed to the expediency of using the old form, Goodacre likewise being persuaded to allow it. But John Bale resolutely and steadily objected to the proposal; and gaining at length the support of the lord chancellor, was enabled to carry his point, so as to receive his ordination to the episcopal office according to the new form; "there being no tumult among the people, and every man, saving the priests, being well contented."*

Character of Bale, the new bishop of Ossory; Bale forms a very prominent character in the history of the British Reformation. He

* *Feascon of John Bale to the Bishoprick of Ossory, in Harleian Misc. vol. vi. Burnet's Hist. of Reform. part II. b. 1. p. 379. Mart. I. 290.*

was one of the most zealous and decided antagonists of the Romish abuses in Ireland, and one of the most strenuous and laborious advocates of the reformed religion; his exertions on behalf of which rendered him peculiarly obnoxious to the enmity and persecution of the party who strove to maintain the pope's authority, and the peculiarities of his religion. He had been educated first in the Carmelites' Convent at Norwich, A.D. 1553. and afterwards at Jesus' College, Cambridge; at which time, according to his own confession, "ignorance and blindness had wholly possessed him;" till betaking himself to the source of all true knowledge, the written Word of God, he was converted from the error of his ways, and shook off the yoke of his former superstitious profession. In the reign of Henry VIII. he had been thrown into prison, first by Lee archbishop of York, and afterwards by Stokesly bishop of London, for preaching against the Romish religion; especially the invocation of saints, and the worshipping of images. He afterwards withdrew to the Continent, and lived for eight years in Germany, avoiding the persecutions to which persons holding his sentiments were subjected in the latter years of King Henry's reign. On the accession of Edward he returned to England, and after residing there for some time, was pro-

his early
life, &c.

A.D. 1552.

His diligence in his episcopal office.

moted, by the king's own choice, to the bishopric in Ireland.*

Immediately after his consecration, Bishop Bale betook himself to Kilkenny, the place of his cathedral church, and his episcopal residence; and engaged in preaching the Gospel, in which practice he constantly persevered, notwithstanding the opposition and contradiction which assailed him from the greater part of his prebendaries, and from the advocates of the papacy in general. For as yet the principles and practices of the Reformation appear to have taken very faint hold of the minds of the people here; and even where the provisions of the English liturgy were avowedly adopted, they were corrupted by an intermixture of Romish superstitions. The Holy Communion of the Lord's Supper was accompanied with various unprofitable and vain ceremonies, such as "bowings and beckings, kneeling and knockings, the Lord's death, after St. Paul's doctrine, neither preached nor yet spoken of;" and the dead were bewailed with "prodigious howlings and patterings," as if the redemption by Christ's passion were not sufficient to procure quiet for the souls of the deceased, and to deliver them out of hell without these "sorrowful sorceries." These and many

* *Mant*, i. p. 218. *Warr's Bishops*, 418.

other superstitious usages of that period Bishop Bale censures in no very measured terms.*

A. D. 1553.

Of his own preaching he gives the following account:—"I earnestly exhorted the people to repentance for sin, and required them to give credit to the Gospel of salvation; to acknowledge and believe that there was but one God; and Him alone, without any other, sincerely to worship; to confess one Christ for an only Saviour and Redeemer, and to trust in none other man's prayers, merits, nor yet deservings, but in His alone for salvation. I treated at large both of the heavenly and political state of the Christian Church, and helpers I found none among my prebendaries and clergy, but adversaries a great number." He told them also "that their prayers for the dead procured no redemption to the souls departed; redemption of souls being only in Christ, of Christ, and by Christ;" adding "that the priest's office, by Christ's straight commandment, was chiefly to preach and instruct the people in the doctrine and ways of God, and not to occupy so much of the time in chanting, piping, and singing."† And further, he used every exertion to have the Book of Common Prayer intro-

His preaching, as described by himself.

* Vid. Mant, p. 223. † This charge of Bale's was not altogether unfounded. Archbishop Browne complained in 1536 that he could not by any means induce any to preach the Word of God. And to this agrees the testimony of the lord chancellor of Ireland, in May, 1562, given at p. 726, sup. Vid. Mant, l. 131, 222.

A. D. 1553.

duced into the churches of his diocese, but found to his great vexation that the opposition of his clergy, added to other inevitable causes, rendered these endeavours unsuccessful.

**His labours
of short con-
tinuance.**

However, unassisted as he was by those whose co-operation he might have looked for, he exerted himself so far as an individual could, in promoting the great work on which his heart was set; and continued diligently discharging his pastoral duties, and preaching constantly in his cathedral of Kilkenny, until after midsummer; "quietly setting forth Christ and salvation by Him alone, to his people," and labouring to withdraw them from the old superstitions. But the period of his labours was short; for he had scarcely occupied his place six months when the king died, and the work of reformation was altogether suspended for a time during the reign of his successor.

**Summary of
the effects of
this reign on
the state of
religion.**

To sum up briefly the most important features of the reign of Edward VI., so far as our Church was concerned, we may see that they were chiefly these:—the establishment of the king's supremacy, displayed particularly in his appointment of bishops irrespectively of the pope's authority; the advancement of the work of reformation in the Church, by selecting judicious and suitable persons for the episcopal office; and the introduction of the English liturgy into Ireland;

which latter arrangement at once exhibited the progress already made in the work of reforming religion, and the principles on which that reform was conducted, and at the same time tended to confirm the improvements made by recommending them thus to the judgment of all well-disposed, sensible, and pious Christians.

A.D. 1553.

CHAP. III.

OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN MARY, AND ITS EFFECTS UPON THE
STATE OF THE CHURCH AND OF RELIGION IN IRELAND.—THE
ROMISH SYSTEM RESTORED.

ON the death of King Edward VI. his sister Mary came to the throne. The tyrannical proceedings of her reign are so generally known that it seems needless to encumber this part of our work by introducing any notice of them, so far at least as England is concerned. For the reader may well be supposed to have learned from other sources how many good and pious persons were by her authority, and at the instigation of the bishop of Rome, put to death in that country on account of their religion, and for having embraced the doctrines of the reformed faith; and how in particular the venerable Bishops Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, who had been most active in the work of libe-

Mary's accession to the throne followed by persecution of the Reformers.

A.D. 1553.

rating their country from Romish tyranny and errors, were for this offence burned alive at Oxford, the former on the 21st day of March, A.D. 1556; the two others on the 16th of the preceding October.

They suffer less in Ireland than in England, and why.

The state of religious affairs in Ireland however during this reign, is what more nearly concerns us in the present work; and here by the great mercy of God, the consequences of her accession were not quite so disastrous. For although provision was made in the instructions given to her viceroy in this country, and also in parliamentary enactments, for the persecution, imprisonment, and burning of heretics in Ireland, yet those heretics, as the professors of the reformed religion were called, were not made the subjects of public and general persecution to the extent to which matters were carried in England. This may have been partly owing to the circumstance that all measures affecting religion were carried out with more energy and promptness by the government in that country, (whether to promote reformation, or to resist its progress, it being considered of most consequence to settle matters on a secure basis there, before attempting any thing of importance in Ireland,) and partly also to another consideration, which was this, that the English government could ill spare in so unsettled a country as ours then was,

those persons who would be most liable to persecution for their religion; as many of them would naturally be the most loyal and useful subjects of the crown in this part of the British dominions. A plan was however set on foot, as we are told, for the vigorous persecution of heretics, in the latter part of the queen's reign; but the design (as we shall see presently) was frustrated in a singular manner. Meanwhile individuals were emboldened to use every violence towards the favourers of the Reformation, knowing that there was little danger of their being called to account for their wickedness by a government so likely to join in it.

A.D. 1553.

An instance of such persecution we have in the case of Bishop Bale. After the queen's accession this prelate had continued to maintain actively, both in public and private, what he believed to be the truths of the Gospel, in opposition to all gainsayers, until his life became endangered from the violence of the pope's party. He was at length assaulted in his own house, and narrowly escaped with his life, after having seen five of his servants slain before his face. He was afterwards hunted from one place to another, till he reached a place of safety on the Continent, where he remained for five years; after which the death of Queen Mary, and the accession of

*Sufferings of
Bishop Bale.*

A.D. 1553.

Strange use
of stage
plays in
these an-
cient times.

Elizabeth rendered it safe for him to return again to Britain.*

During the period before the Reformation in Ireland, an extraordinary mode had been adopted of communicating to the people a sort of religious instruction, combined with popular amusement, by exhibiting publicly before them, on the great festivals of the Church, theatrical representations of scriptural events, and even of those of the most solemn nature. Thus in A.D. 1506, the awful occurrences of our blessed Saviour's passion, were set forth in a play acted in the Hoggin Green, now College Green, in Dublin.† And the same scene is recorded as having taken place again in the same spot, before the lord deputy, the earl of Orrery, at Christmas, 1528, when several other like plays were also enacted.‡ These exercises Bishop Bale it seems did not entirely disapprove of, for he was willing to sanction the employment of such means for promoting the knowledge of scriptural facts in connection with the inculcation of the reformed faith. And on occasion of the celebration of Queen Mary's accession, at Kilkenny, on August the 20th, 1553, "the young men," he tells us, "in the forenoon played a tragedy of God's promises in the old law, at the market cross, with organs,

* Mant, l. 236. † *Leftus M.S.*, Marsh's Library. ‡ R. Ware, *M.S.*, quoted in Warburton's *History of Dublin*, l. 106. Mant, l. 94, 96.

plainges, and songs, very aptly. In the afternoon again they played a comedy of St. John the Baptist's preachings, of Christ baptising, and of his temptations in the wilderness, to the small contentation [*i.e.* to the great annoyance] of the priests and other Papists there." Thus far Bishop Bale on this head.*

A.D. 1553.

The general effect of Mary's accession upon the Irish Church was to check totally, for a time at least, the progress of the Reformation, and as far as possible to undo what had been done for promoting it in the preceding reign. Prompt measures were taken for reducing the country again under the entire dominion of the pope and his system; and for this purpose one of the first steps adopted by the government was to deprive of their sees those bishops who were favourable to the Reformation, and to substitute in their places others attached to the Romish religion.

Romanism re-established in Ireland.

The death of Archbishop Goodacre, which took place a little before the queen's accession, saved him from being thus deprived, and left the see open for the restoration of Archbishop Dowdall, who was soon recalled from his exile, and restored to the privileges and honours which he had formerly enjoyed as archbishop of Armagh and primate of all Ireland.†

Dowdall restored to the primacy.

* In his *Works*, quoted by Mant, vol. i. p. 231.

† Ware's *Bishops*, p. 92.

A.D. 1554.

Deprivation
of the bi-
shops who
favoured the
reformed re-
ligion.

But the other bishops favourable to the Reformation, who were alive at Queen Mary's accession, were soon thrust out of their places by her. For this purpose a commission was issued in April, 1554, the month after the primate's restoration, to him; to Walsh, elect bishop of Meath; Leve-rous, the future bishop of Kildare, and other delegates, authorising them to take measures for restoring the Romish religion, and especially for re-establishing celibacy among the clergy, by punishing those who had been guilty of violating it by marriage. In execution of this commission, on the 29th of June, Staples bishop of Meath was deprived of his see; and in the latter end of the same year the same penalty was inflicted on Browne archbishop of Dublin; Lancaster bishop of Kildare; Travers bishop of Leighlin; and Casey bishop of Limerick. Bale of Ossory, as already stated, had fled beyond the seas.*

Their sub-
sequent con-
dition, &c.

As to what became of these good men afterwards, it is to be mentioned that Archbishop Browne, and bishops Staples, Lancaster, and Travers, are supposed to have died soon after their deprivation. Bishop Casey survived the reign of the persecuting queen, and was restored to his see by Queen Elizabeth. Bishop Bale, after his return from the Continent to England, did not seek a restoration to his bishopric, but

* Cox, l. 299.

was contented with a prebend in the cathedral of Canterbury, bestowed on him by the bounty of the queen. A. D. 1554.

In the room of the deprived prelates, supporters of the Reformation, were substituted bishops attached to the religion and jurisdiction of the pope. The person chosen to succeed Archbishop Browne in the see of Dublin, was Hugh Curwen, a native of England; he was already dean of Hereford and archdeacon of Oxford. His consecration took place at St. Paul's Cathedral, London, according to the forms of the Romish ritual, on the 8th. of September, 1555.

Romish prelates appointed to occupy their places.

Archbishop Curwen had been chaplain to King Henry VIII., and his religious creed seems to have been such as that monarch had patronised; for while he zealously contended for the doctrine of the king's supremacy in opposition to the claims of the pope, he at the same time firmly held the peculiar doctrines of the Romish Church, transubstantiation, &c.; and on arriving at his place in Dublin, he set himself to work to counteract the effects which had been wrought by his predecessor. Especially he showed himself more favourable to the old idolatry that had been practised before Archbishop Browne's time; and as an instance of this, he caused to be re-erected in Christ Church the marble image of

Character of the new archbishop of Dublin.

A.D. 1555. our Saviour, which Archbishop Browne had displaced, though as we shall see ere long, he himself again caused the image to be removed. His first sermon in Christ Church, early in December, 1555, created a strong impression in his favour, and gave encouragement to those who loved the Word of God, to hope that he might yet be the instrument of good.*

A new vice-roy appointed, with instructions for advancing the pope's dignity, &c.

In the month of May in the year following, a new lord deputy, the Viscount Fitz-Walter, afterwards earl of Sussex, was sent over to govern Ireland; his predecessor, Sir Anthony St. Leger, having been recalled in consequence of having given offence to the Romish party, by ridiculing the doctrine of transubstantiation. The new chief governor brought with him instructions for his conduct, directed to himself and the council, and signed by Queen Mary, which required him among other things "to set forth the honour and dignity of the pope's holiness," and to be ready, at the request of all spiritual ministers and ordinaries, to punish and repress with secular force, "all heretics and Lollards, and their damnable sects, errors, and opinions."† The spirit of these instructions was accordingly transfused into the acts of a parliament, which was assembled soon after the lord deputy's arrival,

* Mant, l. 228, 230, and Strype, as there quoted.

† Cox, l. 303, seqq. Mant, l. 242, 243.

iz., on the 1st of June, 1556. These are not
 owever, it appears, the earliest Irish acts di- A.D. 1556.
 cted against the doctrines of the reformed
 aith; for already in the records of the Irish
 egislature there was to be found a decree of the
 enth year of Henry VII. (A.D. 1495) expressed
 s follows:—"Item, that the acts against Lol-
 urds and heretics ben auctorized by this p'sent
 arliament;"* which proves that the spirit of
 eligious inquiry had at that early period become
 o active in Ireland, that it was found necessary
 o restrain it by legal ordinances.

The revival of the acts against heresy and in
 ivour of the pope's usurped power, by the Irish
 arliament of A.D. 1556, was preceded by a
 olemn public reconciliation of Ireland with the
 ee of Rome. The bull of Pope Paul IV. re-
 ently received, gave promise of pardon and for-
 iveness to all her majesty's subjects, whether
 eclesiastical or lay persons, who had rebelled
 gainst the Church of Rome. And this bull
 having been delivered by the lord deputy to
 he lord chancellor, was by him devoutly and
 everendly received and read upon his knees, in

The Irish
 Church and
 state so-
 lemnly re-
 conciled to
 the see of
 Rome.

* *Rot. Parl.* 10th Henry VII. cap. 31. For this reference I am
 debted to the kindness of my respected friend, the archdeacon of
 Leath. It appears therefore that Leland was not altogether in error,
 the Right Rev. Bishop Mant (*Church History*, i. 343) suggests
 at he may have been, when he stated, that in 1495, laws had been
 vided to check the growth of Lollardism and heresy.

A.D. 1556.

Acts introduced in favour of Romanism and persecution.

open parliament deliberately and distinctly in an high voice. And the lords spiritual and temporal and the commons, in the name of themselves particularly, and also of the whole body of the realm, hearing the same, embraced it right reverently and humbly kneeling upon their knees, being repentant, and yielding thanks, had *Te Deum* solemnly sung:" and then in proof of their penitence, as the same authority informs us, they proceeded to repeal all the acts made in parliament, since the twentieth year of King Henry VIII., (A.D. 1529,) against the jurisdiction and authority of the see of Rome.* And they also enacted that "the three statutes" of Richard II., Henry IV., and Henry V. respectively, for the arresting and punishment of heretics and erroneous preachers should be revived in their full force; whereby persons convicted of opposing the Romish religion were liable to the sentence of being imprisoned and burnt for the terror of others.† The design entertained by Queen Mary of enforcing such penalties, and lashing the Irish Protestants with the scourge of persecution has been already alluded to. Her intention however is said to have been providentially frustrated in the curious manner described in the following anecdote.

* *Irish Statutes*, 3 and 4; Philip and Mary, ch. viii.

† *Ib.* ch. ix.

The commission for punishing the Protestants of Ireland was entrusted by Queen Mary to Dr. Cole, dean of St. Paul's, to bring to Dublin with him. On his way having arrived at Chester, he stopped at an inn there, where he was soon waited on by the mayor of that city, a zealous Romanist, who came to pay his respects and testify his affection for the government. Dr. Cole conversing with the mayor, could not refrain from communicating to him, in the overflowing of his zeal, the business with which he was charged; and so taking out of his cloakbag a leather box, "Here," said he, "is a commission that shall lash the heretics of Ireland," calling the Protestants by that title. The woman of the house being well disposed to the Protestant religion, and having a brother named John Edmonds, who professed the same creed, resident in Dublin, was much troubled at the doctor's words. But watching her opportunity, while the mayor took his leave, and the doctor was complimenting him down stairs, she opens the box, and takes the commission out, placing instead of it a pack of cards, with the knave of clubs uppermost, wrapped up in a sheet of paper. The doctor returning to his chamber, and not suspecting the trick, put up his box as before, and on the next day sailed for Dublin, where he arrived on the 7th of October, 1558. Repairing

A. D. 1558.

Queen Mary's rage against the Irish Reformers said to have been singularly frustrated.

A. D. 1554.

directly to the castle, he presented the box to the lord lieutenant in full council, who ordered the secretary to read her majesty's commission; but when the box was opened, it was found to contain nothing but a pack of cards, to the astonishment not only of the lord deputy and council, but of Dr. Cole himself, who assured them solemnly that he had a commission, but could not tell what had gone with it. Then the lord deputy answered, "Let us have another commission, and we will shuffle the cards in the mean time." The doctor much confounded went his way, and returning to England, obtained another commission; but while he waited for the wind at the water side, news came to him that Queen Mary was dead, and thus God preserved the Protestants of Ireland. It is said that Queen Elizabeth was so delighted with hearing the story afterwards from the lord lieutenant, that she sent for the good woman, Elizabeth Edmonds, and settled on her a pension of forty pounds a year for life, for saving her majesty's Protestant subjects of Ireland.*

* See Cox, I. 308. Mant I. 250, 251.

CHAP. IV.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REFORMATION IN THE REIGN OF QUEEN
ELIZABETH.

THE death of Queen Mary having put an end to the cruelties of her reign, her sister Elizabeth succeeded to the throne of England on the 17th of November, 1558. One of the first measures of importance adopted by the new government with reference to the Irish Church, was the restoration of the use of the Church service in English. This had been introduced, as we have already seen, in the reign of Edward VI.; and in consequence an edition of the Book of Common Prayer had been published in Dublin, (being the first book ever printed in Ireland,) in A.D. 1551. But on the death of Edward VI. the English liturgy ceased to be read publicly, nor was its use resumed here until several months after the accession of Queen Elizabeth.

A.D. 1558.
Accession of Elizabeth, and restoration of the use of the English liturgy in Ireland.

It was a part of the instructions given to her viceroy, the earl of Sussex, on his coming to Ireland in August, 1559, that he should "set up the worship of God as it is in England;" an injunction which the lord deputy appears to have faithfully obeyed.

A.D. 1558.

A weakness
of principle
observable
in the pub-
lic men of
those times.

It is somewhat remarkable that the person thus employed by the queen for the restoration of the reformed English worship, should have been the very same individual who had in the preceding reign of Queen Mary been selected as *her* instrument for promoting the Romish religion. In like manner, Sir Anthony St. Leger, who had been appointed viceroy under Edward VI., with instructions for the advancement of the reformed religion, was again re-appointed under Queen Mary, at the very time when measures were set on foot for the complete restoration of Romanism in Ireland. But unfortunately the public characters of those times, both in Church and state, appear to have been only too generally influenced by other motives than those originating in high conscientious principles, or sincere religious convictions.

The English
liturgy very
offensive to
many.

The prospect of a restoration of the reformed worship was little pleasing to the more bigoted of the Romish party; who were ready to go any length, or have recourse to any expedient, rather than resign without a struggle the use of the Latin mass. The historian Strype gives us the following account (in his *Life of Archbishop Parker*) of the means which they made use of to throw discredit on the English service, and to prevent if possible, its introduction into the churches of Ireland.*

* Mant, l. 254.

According to the queen's instructions "the Litany was sung in English in Christ Church, Dublin.* This gave great offence to some of the Popish zealots—reckoning aright, that the use of the mass was in danger of being laid aside in that cathedral. Something therefore was to be done, now or never, to keep the reputation of the old superstition; and a miracle was to be shown in the said church the next Sunday, when the lord lieutenant, the archbishop, and the rest of the privy council, were there at service.

A. D. 1549.

A pretended
miracle is
employed to
defend the
mass, Sept.
2, 1549,

"There was in that cathedral an image of Christ in marble, standing with a reed in his hand, and the crown of thorns on his head. And while service was saying before this great assembly, blood was seen to run through the crevices of the crown of thorns, trickling down the face of the crucifix. The people did not perceive it at first; therefore some, who were in the fraud, cried out to one another, and bade them see how our Saviour's image sweat blood! Whereat several of the common people fell down with their beads in their hands, and prayed to the image. Vast numbers flocked to the sight; and one present, who indeed was the contriver, and formerly belonged to the priory of this cathedral, told the people the cause; namely, 'that he

* *i. e.*, on Wednesday, August 30, on which day the lord deputy was sworn into office in Christ Church cathedral.

A.D. 1580.

could not choose but sweat blood, whilst heresy was then come into the Church.' The confusion hereupon was so great, that the assembly broke up. But the people still fell upon their knees, thumping their breasts; and particularly one of the aldermen, and mayor of the city, whose name was Sedgrave, and who had been at the English service, drew forth his beads, and prayed with the rest before the image. The Lord Sussex and those of the privy council hastened out of the choir, fearing some harm.

detected by
Archbishop
Curven.

"But the archbishop of Dublin, being displeased, caused a form to be brought out of the choir, and bade the sexton of the church to stand thereon, and to search and wash the image, and see if it would bleed afresh. The man soon perceived the cheat, observing a sponge within the hollow of the image's head. This sponge, one Leigh, some time a monk of this cathedral, had soaked in a bowl of blood; and early on Sunday morning, watching his opportunity, placed the said sponge, so swollen and heavy with blood, over the image's head within the crown; and so, by little and little, the blood soaked through upon the face. The sponge was presently brought down, and showed to those worshippers; and some of them cursed Father Leigh, who was soon discovered, and three or four others that had been contrivers with him.

"The archbishop, the next Sunday, preached in the same church, before the lord lieutenant and the council, upon II. Thess. ii. 11—*God shall send them strong delusions, that they should believe a lie*: exposing the cheats, who openly stood there with Father Leigh, upon a table before the pulpit, with their hands and legs tied, and the crime written on their breasts. This punishment they suffered three Sundays, were imprisoned for some time, and then banished the realm. This converted above one hundred persons present, who swore they would never hear mass more.

A. D. 1569.

His sermon on the subject.
Sept. 16.

"And further, upon the 10th of September,* The miraculous image destroyed. 1559, the archbishop caused this image to be broken down, although he himself had caused it to be set up at his coming to that see, after it had been pulled down once before by George Browne, the former archbishop, in King Edward's time."

Archbishop Curwen also wrote a letter at this time to Parker archbishop of Canterbury, giving him an account of these extraordinary proceedings. Parker was very much interested in hearing of the circumstances of the case, because at this time it was much debated among the clergy whether images should be allowed to remain in

Effects of this imposture in England.

* This must have been the Sunday after the imposition was practised, on which day the archbishop preached on the subject. For the Sunday letter of the year 1569 was A.

A. D. 1580.

the churches or no; the queen herself being indifferent about the matter, and rather disposed to countenance the retaining of them. But Archbishop Parker, having shown her the letter of the archbishop of Dublin, found it of great use (in conjunction with many texts of Scripture, which had been pressed on her attention) in prevailing with her majesty to allow the removal of the images out of churches. The occurrence at Christ Church had also probably a great effect on the lord lieutenant himself, in making him more active and strenuous in re-establishing the use of the English liturgy.*

Interest
taken in the
Scriptures
at this time.

The spreading of the principles of the reformed religion at this time, and the interest taken in the subject by the community at large, may be illustrated by mention of the increased circulation of copies of the Word of God, which is recorded in connection with this part of our history. For, as we are informed in a valuable manuscript written about the year 1640,† "It appeared by the accompt of John Dale, bookseller for the stationers of London, that within two yeares there were sold in Dublin 7,000 Bibles." This entry occurs under the year 1559, the year following the death of Queen Mary;

* Mant. i. 286.

† The *Leftus* M.S. in Marsh's Library, Dublin, attributed to Dudley Loftus, great grandson of Archbishop Loftus, who was born in 1616. Vid. *Harris's Ware*, vol. II. p. 284.

and when we consider the smallness of the population of the country at the time, and the fewness of those that could read, the sale of such a large number of Bibles cannot but be regarded as a proof of a very extended favourable disposition towards the Word of God at that early period. Moreover about the same time (1560) "a large Bible, the gift, as it is related, of Dr. Heath archbishop of York, to the two deans and chapters of Dublin, was placed in the middle of the choir of each cathedral of Christ Church and St. Patrick's; where on their being first offered to public view, they caused a great resort of the people thither to read and hear their contents."*

A.D. 1560.

Besides the establishment of the reformed worship in Ireland, the Lord Deputy Sussex had also been charged with the duty of introducing such legal enactments for the government of the Church, as should agree with those recently passed in England. And accordingly in the parliament which was holden in Dublin in January, 1560, and continued for a month, some very important statutes were enacted relating to the discipline and worship of the Church; the principal of which are the two following. 1. The Act "restoring to the crown its ancient jurisdiction over the state, ecclesiastical and spiri-

Acts passed in the parliament of 1560.

Act restoring to the crown its ancient jurisdiction. 2 Eliz. c. 1.

* Mant, l. 365. Ware's *Annals of Elix.* p. 2.

A.D. 1560.

Act of Uniformity.
2 Eliz. c. 2.

tual, and abrogating all foreign power repugnant to the same;" an act in which it was also required that the Oath of Supremacy, acknowledging the queen and her successors to be alone possessed of supreme authority in this realm, should be taken by all ecclesiastical persons, officers, and ministers, under penalty of forfeiture of office and promotion during life. This act also, while it restored the acts against the see of Rome that had been repealed in the late reign, did on the other hand repeal the act of that reign for the punishment of heretics, and also the three more ancient statutes of the same tendency, which had been revived in it. 2. The second enactment here alluded to was that known as the Act of Uniformity, which enjoined that all ministers should use the English liturgy, as set forth in the Book of Common Prayer; and that all persons not having reasonable excuse, should resort to their parish churches on all Sundays and holidays, on pain of ecclesiastical censures, and a fine of twelve pence to be levied by the churchwardens for the use of the poor. The new English service had so much in it of what was edifying and instructive, and was so free from objectionable matter, that the injunction to attend the places of worship where it was used, was not at first regarded as any great grievance by the papal party. On the contrary, the bishops hav-

ing complied with this alteration in the public worship, the adherents of the Romish Church in Ireland resorted to the parish churches, where the English service was used, during a great part, if not the whole, of Queen Elizabeth's reign.

A. D. 1560.

Unhappily however among the provisions of the Act of Uniformity, there was introduced one of a most injudicious and mischievous character. By the last clause of this statute it was enacted, "That in every church or place where the common minister or priest hath not the use or knowledge of the *English* tongue, it shall be lawful for the same common minister or priest, to say and use the mattens, evensong, celebration of the Lord's Supper, and administration of each of the sacraments, and all their common and open prayer in the *Latin* tongue." And the preface to this clause tells us that the reason for such an enactment was "that in most places of this realm, there could not be found English ministers to serve in the churches . . . and that if some good mean were provided that they might use the prayer, service, and administration of sacraments set out and established by this act, in such language as they mought best understand, the due honour of God should be thereby much advanced; *and for that also the same may not be in their native language, as*

Strange
clause relating to a
Latin service in the
latter act.

A.D. 1560.

Injudicious-
ness of such
an order.

well for difficulty to get it printed, as that few in the whole realm can read the Irish letters."

This unfortunate enactment, whether an original portion of the Act of Uniformity, or introduced (as some of the learned have thought possible) by the opponents of the bill, has been justly censured for its many inconsistencies.* It would seem to have been framed in accordance with that mischievous policy of the old Romish times which aimed at the extinguishment of the Irish language and the substitution of the English in its place; a sort of policy already illustrated in the enactments of the Statute of Kilkenny, and more recently in the act of Henry VIII. for the encouragement of "the English order, habit, and language." Such violence done to innocent national prejudices, even had there been no worse compromise of principle in the Act of Uniformity, could not but have done much injury in alienating the minds of the people from those who came before them with professed desires for their welfare. Had the ready compliance of their bishops with the Reformation, and the general acquiescence of the people in the liturgical changes introduced by it, been strengthened by friendly counsels addressed to them in the language which they loved; and had they enjoyed the use of prayer, and opportunities of hearing

* Mant, I. 260, 261.

the pure Word of God read and preached among them in that tongue, the usurping prelate of Rome would then have found little opportunity in after times for again planting his heavy foot on the green soil of Ireland; and his emissaries might presently have looked among us in vain for associates of their impiety and treason.

A.D. 1560.

But by sad infatuation the language which the people "mought best understand" was at this important crisis neglected by the government, and one utterly unintelligible to them substituted in its place. Whatever advantages might be found in a Latin translation of the liturgy, as being composed in the usual language of their devotions, and so calculated to conciliate the people more than the English, or in the removal of idolatrous forms of worship by means of this alteration, they could little justify the use of either English or Latin among those who did not understand those languages; such an introduction of unknown tongues in public worship being "plainly repugnant to the Word of God and the custom of the primitive Church." To this subject however we shall have occasion to recur again, and it need not therefore be dwelt upon in this place.

The use of the reformed Latin service unjustifiable.

The establishment of the Reformation resisted by only five prelates.

The preceding acts for establishing the Reformation in Ireland were agreed to and received by the general consent of the entire body of the Irish

A.D. 1560.

bishops of that day ; some being heartily willing to adopt them, and still more probably acquiescing in them from a venal and time-serving spirit, which rendered them unwilling to face the difficulties that might arise to themselves, from any resistance they might exhibit against the intentions of the secular authority in the existing state of affairs.* Nineteen or twenty of the prelates were present in the parliament which restored the queen's supremacy and abolished the usurped jurisdiction of the popes ; and of the whole body two only ventured to meet the measures of the government with open opposition. These two were, William Walsh bishop of Meath, and Thomas Leverous bishop of Kildare ; the former of whom appears to have been the principal actor in resisting the measures now introduced ; the latter an equally earnest but less violent upholder of the same views. These two are the only Irish prelates that appear to have been deprived of their sees during Queen Elizabeth's reign.†

* See Appendix, Nos. xxiv. and xxv., in which will be found a summary view of the state of the Irish episcopacy at this period, (so far as there appear to exist materials for constructing such a summary,) and also a list of the bishops who were present in the parliament of 1560.

† Some bishoprics, by reason of the disturbance of wars, were incapable of being regulated by the authority of government. These were in particular, Derry, Clogher, Raphoe, and Kilmore. "Three northern bishoprics, Clogher, Derry, and Raphoe," says Dr. Leland, (writing of A.D. 1670, vol. ii. p. 248,) "were still granted by the pope

But although the acts above mentioned were so promptly passed by a parliament including the bishops aforesaid, yet the opposition given to such proceedings by the papal party, together with the rapidity of the changes that had been made by introducing and repealing so many statutes relating to religion during the preceding reigns, from the time of Henry VIII., caused so much difficulty and embarrassment to the lord deputy, that after the parliament had sat for a month, he thought good to dissolve it, and went over to England for the purpose of consulting her majesty about the affairs of the kingdom. And then, as we are informed by an eminent historian who flourished shortly after, "The earl of Sussex, having been in England some months, returned again, and took his oath as lord lieutenant of Ireland, within three weeks after which

A. D. 1560.

A meeting of the clergy ordered by the queen, for promoting the Reformation.

without control." Clogher, after the translation to Cashel of its bishop, Magrath, who had been appointed by the royal authority in 1570, and translated in the same year, continued vacant for many years during the rebellions which prevailed there even to the end of Elizabeth's reign. Kilmore was in like manner, from the confusion of the times, without a bishop for the last fourteen years of the same reign. To Derry and Raphoe the queen "made no collation, unless," says Bishop Mant (i. 284) "in the year 1598, when her reign was drawing to its close." In all other ordinary cases bishops were continually appointed, as vacancies occurred, by the royal letters patent. Vid. Appendix, No. xxv. Sir John Davies says that such bishops "as were resident in the mere Irish countryes, and did not acknowledge the kinge to be their patron, were never summoned to any parliament." See his speech before the parliament of 1614, in Leland, vol. 2, p. 449, Appendix.

A. D. 1560.

came letters from her majesty to him, signifying her pleasure for a general meeting of the clergy of Ireland, and the establishment of the Protestant religion through the several dioceses of this kingdom.* And in accordance with this statement we find the following entry under the year 1560, in a collection of Irish annals, compiled by another author who flourished about the same period, to whose work reference has already been made in a preceding page:—

Ancient record of this meeting.

"1560.—This yeare was held a convocation of Bishops, at the Queens comand, for establishing the Protestant religion, but William Walch, Bishop of Meath, would not conform thereunto, but for practising against it, was committed to custody, afterwards imprisoned, and at length deprived of his bishoprick, unto whom succeeded Bishop Brady, who was chaplain to Archbishop Loftus, after a vacancy of above two yeares."†

Deprivation of the two dissenting prelates.

The two dissentient prelates, Walsh and Leverous, both refused to take the oath of supremacy. The former also preached against it and against the Book of Common Prayer. They were in consequence both deprived of their bishoprics. Leverous afterwards supported himself by keeping a school in Limerick ; but Walsh

* Ware's *Annals of Ireland*, reign of Elis. p. 2.

† Loftus *M.S.* ad an. 1560.

whose offence was considered more serious, was first imprisoned, and subsequently banished. He died at Alcala in Spain, in January, 1577.* A. D. 1560.

So far as these two prelates were influenced by conscientious motives, they claim respect and sympathy, even from those who feel their cause to have been a bad one, and their removal from the dignities which they had enjoyed a necessary step, that they might be able no longer to inculcate into the minds of the people from the seat of authority their unsound and anti-scriptural principles. We cannot however forget that both these bishops were only served as they themselves had served others; that they had been irregularly intruded into their respective sees during the reign of Queen Mary, while the rightful occupants were still living; and that Walsh and Leverous had assisted in depriving other bishops of their sees for the grievous offence they had been guilty of in being married men. With the exception of these two individuals, all the Irish bishops of that time remained in their several sees; and from them the present bishops of the reformed or orthodox faith have derived

The other bishops all continue in their sees,

* Mant, l. 276. Leverous at first, for some time after his deprivation, enjoyed the hospitable protection of the earl and countess of Desmond. His treatment shows how little the government of that day was disposed to visit with corporal punishment the maintenance or avowal of religious convictions opposed to the system legally established, when such convictions did not lead to acts of open violence and treason.

A.D. 1560.

their orders, being the true and unquestionable successors of the prelates of the ancient Irish Church. Thus the friends of reformation in Ireland at that time enjoyed a great advantage in not being driven to the necessity of acting in defiance of the constituted authorities of their Church, and in having on the contrary in most instances, the tacit sanction or active co-operation of those authorities in favour of the great work in which they were engaged. The persons who occupied the different sees at the period in question are for the most part known from historical records, as also the manner in which the sees became vacant afterwards, whether by death, translation, or otherwise.*

transmit-
ting their
episcopal
charge to
Protestant
successors;

Thus it appears that the Romish prelates, (that is, the persons who were the bishops of the Church of Ireland during the prevalence of Romanism in that body,) did not refuse at the period of the Reformation to transmit their episcopal office to Protestant successors; but that they on the contrary consented readily enough to bequeath the government and charge over the Church which had been entrusted to them, to persons, who like the ancient bishops and saints of Ireland, considered themselves independent of the bishop of Rome, and at liberty to act in opposition to his authority,

* See Appendix, No. xxv.

where it enjoined or sanctioned what they esteemed contrary to the Word of God. A.D. 1560.

And accordingly we see that Archbishop Browne, himself a supporter of the Reformation, was consecrated by Romish bishops in England.* And in the consecration of Archbishop Goodacre and Bishop Bale, he was assisted by Eugene Magenis, the Romish bishop of Down and Connor.† And in like manner Curwen archbishop of Dublin, who had been appointed in Queen Mary's time, assisted in promoting the Reformation in the reign of her successor; and by him Adam Loftus, who was advanced to the archbishopric of Armagh in Queen Elizabeth's reign, was consecrated to his episcopal office on the 2nd of March, 1563; Dowdall, who had been primate in Queen Mary's time, having died a few months previously to the accession of her sister Elizabeth, on the 15th of August, 1558.‡ From which it appears that the see was allowed to remain vacant for some years after the death of the last mentioned archbishop. Nor was this a solitary instance of such apparent carelessness and want of energy on the part of government in providing for the advance-

Loftus made
primate,
March, 1563.

* p. 682, sup. † p. 720, sup. ‡ Ware's *Bishops*, pp. 52, 53.
Routh's "*Analecta de rebus Catholicorum in Hibernia.*" De Richardi Craght. Arch. Episc. Armach. vite notaciones. pp. 9, 10. Ed. Colonia, 1615.

A.D. 1543. ment of the welfare and interests of the Irish Church.* Of Richard Creagh, the first titular primate of Ireland subsequently to the Reformation, who was appointed by the pope as a rival to the lawful primate Loftus, we shall have occasion to speak in the next chapter.

CHAP. V.

OF SHANE O'RIAL AND HIS REBELLION.—MISERABLE STATE OF THE CHURCH AND COUNTRY.—COMMENCEMENT OF THE GERALDINE TROUBLES.—EFFORTS TO COMMUNICATE RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION BY MEANS OF THE IRISH LANGUAGE.

Fresh troubles constantly arising from the turbulence of the chieftains.

NOTWITHSTANDING the comparative tranquility to which Ireland had attained in the reigns of the Kings Henry VIII. and Edward VI., still new disorders of a more or less serious character were continually breaking out in the country from the restless turbulence of the chieftains, and their obstinate quarrels about the succession to the headship of their several tribes, or nations, as they were called. Of these party contentions or civil wars, no general account can be expected in this place. A few only of the most important struggles of the times in question, closely connected with the religious history of the country, will require to be briefly noticed.†

* Mant, l. 191.

† Leland's *History of Ireland*, li. 214—220, seqq.

Ulster in particular had been made, in the ^{A.D. 1562.} reigns of Edward VI. and Mary, the scene of much disturbance through the factious violence and ambition of the great northern family of O'Nial. Wars had arisen between Matthew baron of Dungannon, and his rival brothers, John and Hugh,* who were naturally jealous of the dignity which to their prejudice had been conferred on him; and in the course of these tumults Matthew had fallen by the hands of some of the barbarous followers of his brother John. Then upon the death of the old Earl Con Baccagh, (*i.e.* Con the lame,) in the reign of Queen Mary, John, or Shane O'Nial, as he has been commonly called, assumed the chieftainry of his tribe, in defiance of the English law, which would have secured it to Matthew's issue; and from his great influence with his family and connections, he was able to support his claim to that dignity while he lived. He was a man of brutal and besotted character, indulging in riot, excess, and lewdness, and all the gross vices of barbarous life; but being possessed of a rude and boisterous valour, he was considered in those times by the partizans of Rome and Spain as a very fit leader for a religious war in behalf of the faithful in Ireland; the only defect attributed to him in this point of view being, it

Character
of Shane
O'Nial.

* *Ib.* 204, 214.

A. D. 1559. seems, that he had not sufficient respect for the clergy connected with the cause which he had espoused.*

His apology
for himself
to Sir H.
Sidney.

Having been summoned by the chief governor Sir H. Sydney, in 1559, to give an account of his lawless and violent conduct, Shane stated his case with such firmness and composure, and alleged such reasonable arguments in his own defence, that Sydney was convinced of the necessity of abstaining from harsh measures at that time. The chieftain had represented to him that "it was well known that this Matthew, whom King Henry VIII. had incautiously created baron of Dungannon, was the offspring of a mean woman of Dundalk, the wife of a smith, and for sixteen years reputed to be his son; until Earl Conn accepted him as his child on

* Leland, ii. 215, 222, 228. Phelan's *Policy*, 132—134. David Routh, titular bishop of Ossory, one of the most famous Romish writers of the seventeenth century, and withal considered a very moderate person in his way, speaks thus of Shane O'Neil:—"In the beginning of the days of Elizabeth, there went before the Lord God a great and mighty wind in the person of that famous chief John O'Neil, who like a raging storm [vid. I. Kings, xix. 11] laid waste all things, sparing neither rocks nor mountains. He, though he had joined unto himself captains from Munster and from Connaught, and desired to be esteemed as the restorer of the liberty of his country, and the religion of his fathers, yet did he fail in reverence for the clergy. Having destroyed a part of the cathedral of Armagh, and thereby incurred the indignation of the [titular] archbishop, Richard Cragh, a zealous asserter of ecclesiastical privileges, he ceased to be of the number of those by whom salvation should be wrought unto Israel, and as he sowed the wind so he reaped the whirlwind."—*Analecta Sacra*, quoted in Phelan, pp. 264, 266.

the allegation of an adulteress, and with a shameful partiality preferred him to his legitimate issue; that if he himself were to resign his pretensions in favour of any son of such a father, yet more than one hundred persons of the name of O'Nial were ready to assert the honour of their family against the usurpation of any spurious race." The result of this interview between the two parties was therefore that the Irish chieftain was permitted to remain for the present in possession of his assumed authority.*

A. D. 1559.

But the unruly spirit of the restless O'Nial could not remain long contented with a state of peace. Again he made Ulster the seat of civil war, and forced the weaker neighbouring chieftains to feel the effects of his cruel violence and oppression. A strong fort also which he had erected in one of his islands he named "*Fuaith-na-gaill*," i.e. the "Abomination of the Strangers," thus intimating his deep and implacable aversion to the English.† At length in consequence of his alarming outrages, the Lord Deputy Sussex, having returned to Ireland, marched against him with an army in 1561, and before long brought him once more to terms of submission; so that he was forced in the following year to make his appearance before the queen in London, to explain his cause.‡ Her majesty was pleased

His disorderly and rebellious proceedings.

He visits England, A.D. 1562.

* Leland, ii. 222.

† *Ib.* 226.

‡ *Ib.* 229.

A. D. 1563.

on this occasion to give the Irish chieftain a very gracious reception ; she listened with much apparent attention to the statement of his wrongs, and his professions of loyalty to her person, and dismissed him with a valuable present. After this he for some time appeared to act as her faithful ally. But such conduct on his part lasted not long ; his turbulent spirit led him again to insurrection in 1563 ; and some slight occurrences favourable to his cause in the expedition having raised his expectations to hope for further and greater triumphs, he sent agents into Munster and Connaught, inviting the earl of Desmond and other Irish chieftains to unite with him in rebellion, while at the same time his ambassadors were applying also to the pope and king of Spain to solicit aid from them.*

Miserable
condition of
Ireland at
this period.
A.D. 1565.

The kingdom in general at this time was in a state of the utmost confusion and disorder ; as sufficiently appears from a report of the privy council made to the Lord Deputy Sidney, shortly after his arrival in October, 1565 ; in which, among other statements relative to the misery and irreligion generally prevalent in the country, we read as follows :—"The pale was overrun with thieves and robbers . . . the soldiers so beggarly that they could not live without oppressing the subject. Leinster was harrassed by

* Leland, *H.* 232, 234.

the Tooles, Birna, &c., . . . but especially the county of Kilkenny was almost desolate. Munster by the dissensions between the earls of Desmond and Ormond was almost ruined, &c., . . . Connaught was almost wasted by the feuds between the earl of Clanricarde, and M^r William Ochter, &c. . . And Ulster . . . was in open rebellion under Shane O'Neal. As for religion there was but small appearance of it; the churches uncovered, and the clergy scattered, and scarce the being of a God known to those ignorant and barbarous people."*

In such a state of things little could be done towards promoting the work of reformation in Ireland, even had its friends been more numerous and energetic than they were. There was however introduced about this time an important provision for maintaining unity and sound doctrine in the Church, by the issuing of a book of articles, which were to be read publicly in the churches by all beneficed clergymen at first entry into their cures, and twice a year afterwards. These articles (which were the same as had been already published in England) were printed in Dublin, in A.D. 1566, with the following title:—"A brefe declaration of certain principall Articles of Religion: set out by order and auctoritie, as well of the Right Honourable

A. D. 1562.

Publication
of Articles
of Religion.
A.D. 1566.

* Mant, i. 288. Leland, ii. 236.

A.D. 1566.

Sir Henry Sidney, Knyght of the most noble order, Lord Presidet of the Coucel in the Principallitie of Wales, and Marches of the same, and general deputie of this realme of Ireland, as by Tharchbysshops and Byshopes, and other her Maiesties Hygh Commissioners for causes Ecclesiasticall in the same Realme. Imprynted at Dublin, by Humfrey Powel the 20 of January, 1566." The book, which consists of seven leaves, contains twelve articles, agreeing nearly in their substance, so far as they go, and often in the words, with the contents of the present Thirty-nine Articles of our Church.*

Shane
O'Nial
burns Ar-
magh;
A.D. 1566.

In the same year 1566, Shane O'Nial was employed in perpetrating various acts of daring and violent outrage. And not content with destroying several castles on the borders of the English pale, he also burned down in this year the cathedral church and city of Armagh, "so that they lost all their ancient beauty and glory," as is remarked by a historian of that age; who adds, that when he wrote, there remained there nothing "but a few small wattled cottages, with the ruinous walls of a monastery, priory, and the primate's palace." The rebel Shane was led to perpetrate this act of destruction, partly it seems,

* Mant. i. 371—375. A copy of these Articles, printed in 1566, and probably the only one in existence, is preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin.

"lest the English should lodge therein," and partly to show his indignant hatred of heresy, by thus ravaging the place where Primate Loftus had presumed to celebrate the reformed worship.*

A.D. 1566.

For the above outrage the sentence of ex-communication was pronounced against Shane O'Nial, by the primate and by the clergy of his diocese. Richard Creagh also, the titular primate of Ireland, who had been recently nominated by the pope's authority archbishop of Armagh, took upon himself to denounce the like sentence against the rebel chieftain. Under the blasting of this two-fold denunciation O'Nial's hopes of success rapidly declined; reverses ere long occurred to humble his pride, and at last, in June, 1567, he was basely assassinated, while at an entertainment in a tent, by an English officer named Piers. Soon after this, in 1569, an act of attainder was passed against the late chieftain, and his property, comprehending more than half the lands in Ulster, was vested in the queen.†

for which he
is doubly
excommu-
nicated.

His death,
A.D. 1567.

Richard Creagh whose name is here brought before us, appears to have been the son of a respectable merchant in Limerick, and to have been originally brought up to the mercantile life himself, and employed in trading to and from

History of
Ed. Creagh
titular pri-
mate.

* Camden's *Ireland*, p. 109. Ware's *Bishops*, p. 24. Leland, *ii.* 332. Mant. *i.* 302.

† Leland, *ii.* 247.

A.D. 1667.

Spain. Desiring however to spend his time in a more religious way, he repaired to the university of Louvain, and remained studying there for some time. After which having obtained priest's orders, and the degree of bachelor in divinity, he returned to Ireland and opened a school in Limerick. After the lapse of some time further he visited Rome, where the pope, having a very favourable opinion of his principles and ability, appointed him titular primate of Ireland, about A.D. 1665. Returning directly to Ireland, his zeal for the advancement of the papal interest soon rendered him obnoxious to the government, so that he was almost immediately after his coming to settle in Ireland, apprehended and imprisoned by the queen's officers. In the tower of Dublin and in that of London, where he was subsequently confined, he appears to have spent the greater part of his life after his appointment to the titular dignity. And although he escaped from both places, and fled beyond seas, yet having returned to Ireland he was again taken and imprisoned; until ultimately he died in the tower of London, in 1685, poison having been put into his food by one of the under gaolers named Culligius.* In bestowing on this Richard Creagh

* Vid. Routh's *Analecta Sacra*, ut sup. not. p. 763. O'Sullivan, *Hist. Cath. Ib. Comp.* tom. 2, lib. 4, cap. x. Ullap. 1621. Stuart's *History of Armagh*, pp. 249, 260, Newry, 1812. Ware's *Writers*,

the primacy of Ireland, the pope thought fit to overlook the appointment of Archbishop Loftus to the same dignity, considering it as null and void for want of his own sanction, although having taken place with the full authority of the rulers of the Church and country concerned in the selection.

A. D. 1587.

The same course which the pope had pursued in the appointment of Richard Creagh to the archbishopric of Armagh, as a rival to the lawful primate Loftus, was by him pursued also with respect to the other bishoprics of Ireland. And thus although no attempt was made to construct an entirely new hierarchy, or form a new Romish Church or connection in the country until a considerable time after the Reformation had been introduced, still in many individual cases the popes took upon them to nominate bishops of their own sentiments and party, in opposition to such as were lawfully appointed to the sees; employing those titular prelates of

Other titular bishops appointed in like manner.

p. 57. Dublin, 1745. Fitz-Symond's *Britannomachia*, lib. III. par. 5, p. 320. The chronology of Richard Creagh's life, as deducible from the original accounts of it, is exceedingly imperfect. Routh, who is the fullest on his history, says that he was consecrated by Pope Pius V., which however is plainly contradicted by other statements of the same writer, in which he makes him primate of Ireland before June, 1563, (assigning that date, and October, 1565, to letters written to Primate Creagh on his escape from the tower of London,) whereas Pius V. was not appointed to the see of Rome until January 7, 1566. It would appear therefore that Creagh must have been consecrated before the popedom of Pius V., and at farthest not later than the end of 1564. Routh's narration is evidently not of too trustworthy a character. See Appendix, No. xxvi.

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2 C

A. D. 1567. their own creation for the purpose of exciting confusion and troubles in the country. For these "intrusive missionaries,"* although they drew away many disciples after them, were the open opponents of the sovereign, the laws, and the Church of this realm, while arrogating for themselves the jurisdiction, and calling themselves by the usurped titles of the duly recognised and rightful prelates. Such were Waucop and Creagh, of whom we have already spoken; and such were many others in those times, of a few of whom and of their goodly doings, we shall have occasion to speak again in the course of this history.

Dispute between the earls of Desmond and Ormond.

Shane O'Nial had now come to an end, and with him what has been called "the first religious rebellion in Ireland."† But the disorders of the country were far from approaching to a termination, and the quarrels of the nobles were still giving rise to constant disturbance and commotion. Particularly distinguished in these struggles were Gerald earl of Desmond, and Thomas earl of Ormond; who from litigation about their mutual rights and possessions, proceeded to assert their claims by force of arms. And we are informed that in a battle fought between their forces at Affane in Waterford, in February, 1564, the earl of Desmond had been

* Mant, l. 285.

† Phelan, p. 125.

defeated with the loss of three hundred men, and himself taken prisoner. It was agreed after this that the dispute should be referred to the queen, before whom accordingly the two earls appeared for the settlement of their quarrel; and by her majesty's intervention a reconciliation was effected. The earl of Desmond before his release gave many assurances of his good intentions for the future in supporting the execution of the queen's laws, and the collection of her duties in his territory, &c.; and particularly he promised "as to the furtherance of religion in Munster, that having no knowledge in learning, and being ignorant of what was to be done in this behalf, he would aid and maintain whatever should be appointed by commissioners nominated for this purpose."* On these assurances he was dismissed, and for some time subsequently acted as a loyal subject, especially in assisting the lord deputy in the time of O'Nial's rebellion, although his loyalty was not then entirely free from the clouds of suspicion.

A. D. 1567.

State of the earl of Desmond's intellect.

Shortly after the assassination of John O'Nial however, fresh disputes arose between the two earls relative to the execution of the treaty made between them; whereupon the lord deputy, Sir Henry Sidney, proceeded by the command of the queen to Youghal, to hear the complaints of the

The earl of Desmond imprisoned. A. D. 1567.

* Leland, ii. 232, 233.

A.D. 1567.

Traitorous
proceedings
of the
Geraldines,

contending parties; and finding grounds for passing sentence against the earl of Desmond, he took occasion to reprove him strongly for the misery and devastation which he had spread through the country, and also ordered him to make reparation for the damages which had been sustained by the earl of Ormond. To this sentence the delinquent earl proudly refused to submit, and his answer on the occasion was threatening and insolent; in consequence of which he was arrested by the lord deputy, and with his brother, Sir John of Desmond, committed to the tower of London.*

These proceedings irritated much the family of the Geraldines or Desmonds; and as it appeared that at this very time the king of Spain was endeavouring by his agent Juan Mendoza, to excite insurrections in Ireland, James Fitz-Maurice, (or James Geraldine, as he is also called,) a near kinsman† of the earl of Desmond, and others of the family, resolved if possible to take vengeance on the government. And therefore, affecting an extraordinary zeal for the Romish communion, this James with his associates took up arms against the heretical rulers of the land, and began to commit outrages on such as were considered to be of the number

* Leland, *ib.* † Leland, p. 246, calls him his brother, which must mean at most half-brother or foster-brother.

of their loyal supporters. These confederated rebels also despatched in 1568, the titular bishops of Cashel and Emly, as their ambassadors to the pope and king of Spain,* to implore aid and assistance for rescuing their religion and country from the tyranny and oppression, as they represented it, of Queen Elizabeth.† Shortly after, on the 25th of February, 1569, Pope Pius V. fulminated his bull of excommunication against her majesty,‡ by which, as the Romish historian O'Sullivan states it, the queen "was deservedly pronounced a heretic, and the power of seizing on her kingdom given to others. Whereupon," as the same author tells us, "arms are taken up by numbers of the Irish in defence of their religion; every place is overrun and wasted with fire and sword. And in these tempests and billows how many Irishmen perished in defence of the law of Christ, heaven knows."

A. D. 1568.

aided by certain titular bishops.

Bull of Pope Pius V. against Queen Elizabeth.

The rebel Geraldine defeated.

James Fitz-Maurice therefore and his riotous associates having taken the field, began to ravage, spoil, and murder through the plains of Munster; and so little opposition did they meet with at the outset, that the hopes of the vain-glorious leader were raised to think of the prospect of extirpating at last the English power, as

* Ware's *Annals of Eliz.* p. 12. Cox, i. 233. Mant, i. 238. Phelan, p. 166, note. Leland, ii. 277. † ib. 249. Mant, i. 286. ‡ O'Sullivan, *Ibid.* Cath. tom. i. lib. ii. cap. iv. Mant, i. 294.

A.D. 1568.

a work reserved for his own ability and valour. And he therefore sent fresh messengers to the pope and king of Spain to hasten the succours expected from those powers for destroying the English, and rooting out the adversaries of the holy see.* But the successes of this insurgent lasted not long. His followers possessed more of brutal violence than of real force; and their power was therefore easily reduced, and their allies dispersed, by the prudent and energetic measures of the English government. And at length Fitz-Maurice himself, with some of his adherents, worn out with famine, toil, and terror, were compelled to cast themselves at the feet of Sir John Perrot president of Munster, who commanded against them on this occasion. The inferior agents in the rebellion experienced the severity of martial law: the leader, reserved for the queen's disposal, was by her subsequently pardoned and allowed his liberty.†

Repairing of
churches
attempted
in vain.

Meanwhile the friends of religious reformation were engaged in making such attempts for the improvement of the country as their opportunities in those distracted times allowed. In illustration of this we may refer to the bills proposed for enactment in the Irish parliament which opened on the 17th of January, 1569; among which there was one for the establishment

* Leland, *ii.* 250, 251.

† *ib.* 252, 253.

of a free school, under an English master, in each of the dioceses of Ireland; and another for the repair of parochial churches throughout the country. The former of these bills became law on the 26th of May, 1570, but the latter was never passed; both having, it would seem, encountered a powerful opposition from the enemies of the reformed religion.*

However beneficial the English free schools here mentioned may have been for such as understood the English language, they could be of little use to the great body of the Irish people who were ignorant of that tongue, and whose own language through a short-sighted policy and foolish prejudices was miserably neglected by those in authority; whereas had it been employed in communicating sound religious instruction to those who spoke it, the happiest results might, under the divine blessing, have been reasonably anticipated. At length however some zealous individuals began to exhibit in regard to this matter a wiser judgment; and interesting themselves for the spiritual enlightenment and instruction of the Irish people through the medium of their own language, they found the ruling powers of the state willing to countenance and support their pious exertions. Of the individuals here mentioned, the two who were fore-

A.D. 1571.

Efforts made to communicate instruction through the Irish language.

* Ib. 244, and Mant. I. 260—291.

A. D. 1571. most in the work were Nicholas Walsh, chancellor, and John Kearney, treasurer, of St. Patrick's, Dublin, two attached friends, who had also formerly been fellow students in the university of Cambridge. These two individuals were the first who introduced, in A. D. 1571, Irish types for printing into their native country, and obtained from the government an order that the prayers of the Church should be printed in that character and language; and a church set apart in the shire town of every diocese where they should be read, and a sermon preached to the common people; a provision which was the means of attaching many of them to the Catholic faith and Catholic Church of their own land, and withdrawing them from the delusions of the bishop of Rome. The Irish types and printing press connected with them were provided by Queen Elizabeth at her own expense, "in hope that God in mercy would raise up some to translate the New Testament into their mother tongue" for the people of this island.*

Translation
of the New
Testament
into Irish.

Mr. Kearney commenced his labours by composing an Irish Catechism and Primer, which formed the first book printed in Ireland in that character. Its title bears the date 1571. Soon

* Mant, l. 292, 293; and Ware, as quoted, *ib.* See also, Anderson's Memoir on *The Native Irish*, (a work which contains much useful information on this subject,) pp. 30, seqq. Edn. 3. Lond. 1846.

after, Walsh and Kearney began to turn their attention to the important work of translating the Holy Scriptures into the Irish language, and they accordingly commenced at the New Testament in 1573. In 1577 Walsh was appointed bishop of Ossory, but still proceeded in his undertaking until 1585, in which year he was murdered by a profligate wretch whom he had cited before him for the crime of adultery. But some years before this, Nehemias Donellan, a Galway man, who also had been educated at Cambridge, and who was raised to the archbishopric of Tuam in May, 1595, had joined Walsh and Kearney in their undertaking. The translation of the New Testament from Greek into Irish commenced by these three individuals, and "greatly approved of by Queen Elizabeth," was at length completed by William Daniel or O'Donel, successor of Donnellan in the archiepiscopal see, and published in A.D. 1603, shortly after the accession of King James I. The Book of Common Prayer was also translated into Irish, excepting the book of Psalms, and printed at the expense of Dr. Daniel in 1608, the year before that of his own translation to the see of Tuam.

For the translation of the Old Testament into Irish we are indebted to the Christian zeal of the excellent and venerable Bishop Bedell. He, though an Englishman by birth, who had never

A. D. 1571.

The Old
Testament
translated
into Irish
by Bishop
Bedell,
A.D. 1641.

A. D. 1571. resided in Ireland until he was made provost of Trinity College in A.D. 1627, acquired the knowledge of the Irish language at the advanced age of fifty-seven, and lived to complete the superintendence of the translation of the books of the Old Testament. He died in A.D. 1641, the year after that in which he had finished that important work. His translation of the Sacred Scriptures was not however published until 1685, when it was printed with Irish types, provided by the bounty of the Hon. Robert Boyle; the former types which had been used for the printing of the New Testament and other books having been procured by the Jesuits, and by them carried over to Douay for the express purpose of promoting their own views in Ireland through the medium of the Irish language.

Sir H. Sidney's inquiry into the state of the Irish Church.
A.D. 1676.

But to return to the transactions of Queen Elizabeth's reign from which we have been making this digression. In the autumn of the year 1576, the estimable Sir Henry Sidney, having been once more appointed lord deputy of Ireland, began without delay to give his earnest attention to the improvement of the kingdom; and in the following spring he addressed to the queen a very remarkable letter, describing the wretched condition of the Irish Church, as it was then circumstanced, and suggesting at the same time such remedial measures as seemed to him

calculated to help towards the introduction of a better state of affairs. To make sure of correct information upon the subject, he had spent, he says, the preceding six months in personal inspection and observation of the country, going "through each province and having been almost in each county thereof." *

In his letter, by way of example, he describes particularly the circumstances of the diocese of Meath; having received an account of the state of each church in that bishopric, "the best inhabited county of all this realm," from "the honest, zealous, and learned bishop of the same, Mr. Hugh Brady, a goodly minister of the Gospel, and a good servant of the queen's highness, who went from church to church himself" to examine the condition of his charge. He found that there were in his diocese 224 parish churches, 105 of which were impropriate and their possessions leased out to farmers; "no parson or vicar resident upon any of them, and a very simple or sorry curate for the most part appointed to serve them; among which number of curates only eighteen were found able to speak English, the rest Irish priests, or rather Irish rogues, having very little Latin, less learning or civility," and having nothing to live upon but the "bare altarges," i. e. emoluments connected with

A.D. 1876.

*His account
of the condi-
tion of the
diocese of
Meath.*

* *Sir H. Sydney's Letters and Memorials*, I. 112. Meath, I. 201.

A.D. 1576.

masses, confessions, &c., and "no one house standing for any of them to dwell in. In many places the very walls of the churches down; very few chancels covered, windows and doors ruined or spoiled."

Sir Henry then adds that there were fifty-two other parish churches in the same diocese, having vicars endowed upon them, and better served and maintained than the former, though still but badly; and fifty-two others again (belonging to various particular lords) whose circumstances were better than those of the rest, but yet far from satisfactory. Such being the state of things in the most flourishing part of the country, some conjecture may be formed as to what must have been the case elsewhere.

The Irish Church lamentably deficient in three particulars.

In fact, adds this writer, "your majesty may believe it, that upon the face of the earth, where Christ is professed, there is not a Church in so miserable a case; the misery of which consisteth in these three particulars:—the ruin of the very temples themselves; the want of good ministers to serve in them when they shall be re-edified; competent living for the ministers, being well chosen."

We need not delay here to occupy ourselves with the remedies proposed by Sir Henry Sidney for meeting these lamentable evils, further than to notice that he particularly urges the necessity

and importance of providing by all means competent Irish-speaking ministers for places where the English tongue was not understood.

A.D. 1576.

That the churches of the country should in many instances have been in ruins at this period, is not much to be wondered at, considering the disorders of the times. The parishioners, whose duty it was in ordinary circumstances to provide for their repairs, would naturally, under existing circumstances, be often remiss in the performance of this duty. Even had they been otherwise willing of themselves, yet to spend toil and money on works that might presently be demolished by the desolations of war, was an employment not very inviting to them. As an instance of the church destruction of this age, one case which occurred in the year 1576 is worthy of a passing notice. The town of Athenry in Galway having been burned by the Mac an Earlas, the church itself shared in the common ruin, although it contained the burial place of the mother of one of the ravagers. And when a remonstrance was addressed to the son, reminding him that his mother was interred in that church, he made an answer, "unnatural and impious" indeed, as Bishop Mant styles it, but yet worthy of an insurgent chieftain of that age, — that "if his mother were alive he would sooner burn her and the

Causes of
the ruinous
condition
of the
churches.

A. D. 1576. church together than any English should fortify there." *

CHAP. VI.

THE REBELLION OF THE GERALDINES OF MUNSTER.

The Earl of Desmond escaping from his confinement A. D. 1574. ABOUT the period of our history at which we have now arrived, the family of the Geraldines or Desmonds of Munster were busily engaged in concerting further schemes of treason and rebellion, which were soon to involve their native soil in the extremest wretchedness of misery and suffering. In A. D. 1573 the earl of Desmond and his brother had been freed from their imprisonment in the tower of London and sent over to live in Dublin as state prisoners with the mayor, under heavy securities. But being allowed a considerable degree of liberty, they under pretence of hunting, found means in the following year to escape to their friends in Munster, where they were joyfully received by their old associates, and gladdened by recent tidings from Rome and Spain, encouraging them to persevere in their opposition to her majesty's government. The earl was now proclaimed a

is proclaimed a traitor;

* Cox, l. 346. Mant, l. 303. The Mac an Earlas were (as their barbarous English Irish title indicates) the *Sons of the earl of Clanricarde*.

traitor, and a reward offered for his apprehension. He was enabled however to elude for the present the efforts of government; and in 1575 when the lord deputy, Sir Henry Sidney, made his tour of Ireland, establishing order in the country, and receiving the submissions of the chieftains, the earl of Desmond upon returning to his allegiance was once more received into favour at Dungarvan; and shortly after was on such good terms with the government, and so far trusted by them, that when Sir William Drury in 1576 succeeded Sir J. Perrot as president of Munster, he was admitted to a place in the council.

A.D. 1576.

but again
received in-
to favour
with govern-
ment.

Meanwhile James Fitz-Maurice was cherishing beyond seas his rancour against the English government, and earnestly applying to foreign powers to aid him and his party in their treasonable projects. With this object in view, he repaired at length to Rome, where his evil dispositions met with no small degree of countenance and encouragement, as appears from the following account of his proceedings in that city, furnished to us by the Romish historian O'Sullivan.*

James Fitz-
Maurice
goes to
Rome.

"While these transactions are going on in Ireland," says O'Sullivan, "James Geraldine, of whom we have already spoken at large,

O'Sullivan's ac-
count of his
doings in
that place,
in conjunc-
tion with

* *Hist. Cath. ib. tom. II. lib. IV. cap. XV. p. 24.*

a.d. 1576.

an Irish titular bishop;
Thomas Stukely;

having arrived in Spain, sets before his Catholic majesty, Philip II., an account of the state of affairs in Ireland, and implores of him aid for the [R.] Catholics. He then travels through France to Rome; where there was resident at this time, Cornelius O'Melrian, an Irish Franciscan and bishop of Killaloe, and Thomas Stukely, who was looked upon by some as being an illegitimate son of King Henry VIII. of England, by others as the offspring of an English knight by an Irish mother, and by others as entirely an Irishman. The latter was earnestly imploring aid against the English, in the name of the people of Ireland; being influenced to do so, either from resentment towards the English,* or from motives of piety, or from a taste for changes and war, and the hope of gaining some advantages by means of them, or aiming at royal power, as one who was possibly of royal blood. There was also living there Doctor Sanders, the pride of the English nation, a refugee from the tyranny of his countrymen, in

* This was his real motive. He had been disappointed in an effort to get himself made senechal of Wexford. The pope also had his own motive for co-operating with Stukely; he expected to get the kingdom of Ireland for his own son, Jacomo Buoncompagno. See *Leland*, ii. 264. He had no notion of giving Ireland to the Irish. Their island was to be dependant on Spain, a circumstance which in all probability tended to foster jealousy between the Irish chieftains and the Spanish commanders in Ireland. *Vid. Phelan*, pp. 184, 192, 194.

consequence of his having written a book on the
 Anglican schism. At this time there were
 several troops of robbers infesting Italy in a
 sad way, who used to break forth at night from
 the woods and mountains in which they lay
 concealed, to spread destruction through the
 villages with their plundering excursions, and
 waylay and rob the travellers along the roads.
 James entreats the supreme pontiff, Gregory
 XIII., to succour the [R.] Catholic Church in
 Ireland, now tottering to its fall; and at length
 obtained from him a pardon for those robbers,
 on this condition—that they should set out with
 him for Ireland; and so of these and others he
 collected a thousand soldiers, more or less.
 And over these the supreme pontiff appointed
 for leaders, Hercules of Pisa, a person eminent
 for courage and military experience, and other
 Roman soldiers; who having embarked on board
 ship with Bishop Cornelius and Dr. Sanders,
 James directs Stukely to take the command of
 them to Lisbon, and there wait for himself, until
 he should bring his wife whom he had left in
 France. Stukely, setting sail from Italy, comes
 to Lisbon with a favourable wind, just when the
 illustrious Sebastian, king of Portugal, was set-
 ting out on his expedition against Morocco.
 The king makes a request of Stukely that he
 would cross over with him to Morocco, promising

A.D. 1577.

and certain
Italian rob-
bers;who are sent
by the pope
on the Irish
mission.Stukely's
note.

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A.D. 1877.

that after his return he would either himself embark for Ireland with Stukely, or else that he would at all events furnish him a larger supply of troops for asserting the liberty of that island. Stukely accepting these terms with all possible readiness, falls by the arms of the barbarians in that celebrated slaughter of the Portuguese, in which fell also the illustrious King Sebastian of that eminent nation. The Italians who survived the slaughter, return to Spain, whither James too had come by this time ; who being joined by these Italians that had survived the Moorish slaughter, had now eight hundred men, with one Sebastian San Josepho for their captain, (as Michael *ab Issello* informs us,) who was appointed by a decree of the supreme pontiff. These having embarked in six vessels with plentiful military stores, ordnance, and arms to equip 4000 Irish, James, with Bishop Cornelius and Dr. Sanders, weigh anchor, and crossing from Spain to Ireland with a good passage, land at Ardnaccan port, called by the English Smerwick, near the town of Dingle."

The pope's
ill treatment
of the Irish
in this affair.

Thus were the unfortunate Irish, or at least such of them as trusted in the pope for their protector and friend, seduced, by the evil misleadings of designing and selfish men, to become the associates of the degraded robbers and assassins of Italy ; and the sword, reeking from the

blood of the innocent peasant of the Apennines, was sanctified by the blessing of one who called himself the chief shepherd on earth of the fold of our blessed and gentle Saviour, to engage in scenes of fresh wickedness, and exterminate from this land all who dared to persist in obedience to the Word of God and the sacred authority of their lawful monarch.

A.D. 1577.

The pope showed his great zeal for this work, and his strong hopes of success, by taking upon him to create Stukely marquis of Leinster, earl of Wexford and Carlow, viscount Murrough, and baron of Ross! This pontiff also issued in 1577 a bull in favour of James Fitz-Maurice, exhorting all the Irish prelates, princes, nobles, clergy, and people, to aid him in his efforts to assert their liberty and defend holy Church; promising to all who should engage in this war *the same indulgences as were usually granted to persons who set out on the expedition against the Turks, and for the recovery of the Holy Land* from the hands of the infidels. Among these indulgences was expressly included a *plenary pardon and remission of all their sins.**

His active zeal in the undertaking.

Some diversity observable in the accounts given of this expedition.

The more common accounts of the above transaction differ in some particulars from that

* Cox, i. 252. Leland, ii. 268. Phelan, 154. Mant, i. 207. For the bull here mentioned, see Appendix, No. xxvii.

A. D. 1579. here given by O'Sullivan. According to them Fitz-Maurice on arriving in Spain from Rome, was enabled to raise a force of only eighty Spaniards and a few persons of other countries, with whom he embarked in three small ships, accompanied by Sanders, and Allen, an Irish Jesuit who had joined his expedition; and with these he arrived in Smerwick Bay in 1579, where to secure for his garrison a strong hold and place of defence, he at once began to fortify a very small island close to the coast, and connected with it by a short and narrow neck of land. According to the same accounts, there arrived in the same place in the autumn of the following year 1580, a force of seven hundred Spaniards and Italians under the command of an Italian, sent over as missionaries from the pope and king of Spain, for propagating in Ireland what they were pleased to denominate the Catholic faith. It may have been that James Fitz-Maurice left Spain with six vessels, but was enabled to secure a landing for only three of them at Smerwick in 1579, while the others, intercepted perhaps by the vigilance of the English naval officers, were obliged to retire from the Irish coast on that occasion, and unable to effect a disembarkation of their forces until the following year, when it was too late for them to be of any service to the

leader who had been the means of bringing them A.D. 1360.
over to this country.*

For James Geraldine was not long allowed to pursue his career of treason. Shortly after his landing he had been joined by Sir John and Sir James Fitz-Gerald, brothers of the earl of Desmond; but the earl himself, although there was little doubt of his friendly disposition towards their cause, did not as yet venture openly to declare himself in favour of the rebels. While matters were in this state, James Fitz-Maurice having set out on an expedition from the fort at Smerwick, and having proceeded as far as Lime-rick, met with an end altogether unworthy of a soldier. He fell in a scuffle with some kinsmen

Death of
James Fitz-
Maurice.

* This is the account given by Leland, from Cox, l. 367, Camden, Ware, &c., to which also agree the *Annals of the Four Masters*, who mention the two landings at *Oilean-an-air*, (or Golden Isle). At 1379 they have "James the son of Maurice Duv, son of John, returned from France; [having fled thither after his defeat in 1370 by Sir J. Perrot, and his subsequent release by the queen] and it was rumoured that he had come with a greater number of ships than he actually brought, &c." Again at A.D. 1380 they have "An Italian fleet of the pope's people landed in Kerry, in the middle of harvest, and they were greater by name than in effect—[i. e. they made much noise and were of little use.] The place where they landed was the island which James Mac Maurice had the year before begun to fortify, namely, *Dun-an-air*, &c." Leland observes that as James was just entering Smerwick Bay with his allies, an English vessel of war "cut away their transports," which may perhaps imply that of the six vessels mentioned by O'Sullivan, three were beaten off the coast at this time, and unable to land the troops which they brought. Some more trifling discrepancies in the two stories may be easily accounted for. James "Mac Maurice," it seems, met with his fate before the second landing.

A.D. 1490.

of his own about a pair of cart horses which he had seized for the use of two of his followers. The conflict is thus briefly described by an old author:—“‘Cousin,’ says Fitz-Morris, ‘it is not a pair of garrons that will make a breach between you and me; I hope you will do as I do.’ ‘I have had too much of rebellion already,’ answers Burke, ‘and am now on my oath against it; so I must have my horses back again.’ Fitz-Morris thought it dishonourable to part with what he had seized, and so to skirmish they go, which was brisk enough, and ended in the slaughter of both of them.” Thus one of the most active of these conspirators became the first victim of his own mischievous intrigues.*

Bull of Pope
Gregory
XIII. to Sir
John of
Desmond.

Upon this, Sir John of Desmond was appointed to succeed to the command of the rebel forces in Munster, and shortly after Pope Gregory XIII., having been informed of these circumstances, was pleased to ratify this new appointment, and to issue a fresh bull renewing to Sir John all the privileges lately enjoyed by his kinsman, full remission of sins for his followers, indulgences similar to those given to

* Cox, I. 359. Phelan, p. 161, note. “James has fallen,” observed Pope Gregory in his bull to Sir John of Desmond, “*fighting valiantly against the enemy*,” a rather pleasant way of describing the fate of a man, who in an unsuccessful attempt at horse stealing, got himself into a mess about “a pair of garrons,” and thus came to an unfortunate end.

persons engaging in the war with the Turks, &c.* This bull is dated May 13, 1580. It describes Sir John of Desmond as "our well beloved son, John Geraldine, a person of eminent piety and bravery, gifts bestowed on him by God, whose cause is concerned in this war." John Geraldine, or Fitz-Gerald, was however a base and infamous ruffian, who when suspected of treachery by his own rebel associates, at once satisfied them of his sincerity, and disgusted the more high-minded among them, by murdering in cold blood with his own hand Henry Davels, or Davers, high sheriff of the county of Cork, a person of excellent character and amiable disposition, who had ever been most friendly to the Desmonds, and had lived on terms of the most affectionate intimacy with Sir John in particular.

A. D. 1580.

Soon after Sir John of Desmond had assumed the command, an action of some importance took place at Monaster-Neva between his forces and those of the English. On this occasion the Jesuit Allen particularly distinguished himself, displaying for the rebel army the papal standard, the keys and sword of "the prince of the apostles." Before the battle he rode busily through the ranks distributing his benedictions and assurances of victory; and after a hard day's fighting

Allen, the
Jesuit, falls
in battle.

* Leland, ii. 274. See this bull in the Appendix, No. xxviii.

A.D. 1580.

his body was found by the conquerors among a heap of slain.*

The earl of
Desmond re-
bels openly,

For some time after the arrival of James Fitz-Maurice and his party, the earl of Desmond kept aloof from their cause, maintaining his apparent loyalty; but being detected in keeping up a treasonable correspondence with the Spaniards, he was for this offence arrested by Sir William Drury; but soon again released on giving up his son as a hostage, and renewing his oath of allegiance. But his conduct afterwards was such as to afford occasion for further suspicions of his loyalty, which were confirmed by letters found among the papers of the Jesuit Allen above mentioned. The government therefore proceeded at once to adopt more energetic measures against him; in consequence of which, resolving to wear the mask no more, he appeared in open treason; and advancing upon the town of Youghal, he was successful enough to surprise it—the treachery of the mayor being his main instrument in the undertaking. Moreover, so elated and insolent did he become on the first appearances of success in his rebellion, that he had the audacity to write an arrogant letter to the lord justice Sir William Pelham, stating that he and his brethren were entered into the defence of the Catholic faith, and advi-

and seizes
upon the
town of
Youghal.

* Leland, ii. 274.

sing the lord justice to join him—"understanding that we took this matter in hand with great authority, both from the Pope's holiness and from King Philip, who do undertake to further us in our affairs as we shall need."* A.D. 1580.

What a reverence this earl and his associates must have had for the faith for which they were professing a readiness to lay down their lives, appears from that which is recorded of their conduct upon taking possession of the town of Youghal. "Even the churches," says a R. Catholic writer, "and whatsoever was sacred, were polluted and defiled by the soldiers, who brought every thing to desolation, making havoc of sacred vestments and chalices as well as of other chattel. Certain Spaniards who were with them at that wicked exploit, perceiving by the furniture and ornaments of the churches, that the townsmen were all [R.] Catholics, and containing their hands from plunder, were reproved by some of that wicked company for that they took no part of the spoil."† But the plunderers had the pope's blessing and indulgences for joining in the war; and fortified with these, might they not expect a little favour for their crimes in the court of heaven!

In the autumn of the year 1580, according to the best authorities, a band of seven hundred Slaughter of the Spanish garrison at Smerwick.

* 14. 277. Phelan, 166. Mant, i. 207. † Phelan, pp. 202, 203.

A.D. 1580.

Spaniards and Italians having arrived in Smerwick Bay, proceeded without delay to complete the erection of the fort which had been commenced by James Fitz-Maurice and his associates in the preceding year, to which also they gave the name of *Fort de l'Or*, or the Golden Fort. And when this was presently besieged by the lord deputy, Lord Grey of Wilton, and the garrison summoned to surrender, they returned for answer—"That they held it for the pope and the king of Spain, to whom the pope had given the kingdom of Ireland," in consequence of which they were determined to defend it to the last. A violent storming however from the assailants obliged them soon to surrender at discretion, whereupon the Spaniards of the garrison were cruelly put to death without any delay by a party of soldiers under the command of Sir Walter Raleigh. This act, at which the queen is said to have expressed the strongest displeasure, appears to have been performed by command of Lord Grey, who was a person of an arbitrary and harsh disposition. He attempted however to justify his conduct in this instance from the necessity of the case, his party having no prisons there to receive the captives, and large reinforcements of the enemy being expected to arrive presently; while the Spaniards, not being able to show any commission from the

king of Spain, could be looked on only as private adventurers, who could claim no advantage from the law of nations.* A.D. 1480.

Meanwhile the earl of Desmond, with his two brothers, Sir James and Sir John, and all their adherents, were proclaimed traitors and rebels. And although Sir John had at first considerable forces at his command, and was enabled to maintain his ground, and even to gain some advantages for several weeks, nevertheless before long he found his means and men much reduced, and still rapidly diminishing. Notwithstanding all the pope's bulls, benedictions, and imprecations, numbers of the Irish chieftains maintained their loyalty to her majesty, and could by no means be seduced into the crime of raising their hands against her sacred authority.† They assisted

The earl of Desmond and his allies are brought low.

* Fort de l'Or, Smerwick, July 8, 1843.—I have to-day visited this place for the second time: it is about four miles from Ventry, to the north. No remains of the buildings here are left, except the outline, with some small parts of the demolished walls. The people around still call the place *Dhumanoir*, (i.e. *Fort of Gold*;) which is but a translation into Irish of the original name: the fort consists of a very high peninsula on the bay of Smerwick, joined to the high cliffs near by a narrow neck of the rock. It is all covered with luxuriant grass, the finest verdure in this part of the country; and the lotus and primrose, the daisy and orchid, add much to its natural beauty. One could almost fancy its luxuriance arose from the human blood shed here. The people have many traditions about the place, some of them tolerably correct. I write this note on the grassy bank of the fort projecting over the sea. The circumference is at present about one hundred yards.—A.K. See the continuation in O'Sullivan of the extract given at pp. 787, seqq., sup.

† See more on this subject in chap. viii. *infra*.

A.D. 1580.

on the contrary in suppressing the rebellion, so that by one means or another the unfortunate Geraldine chieftains were speedily brought to the condition of wretched and troublesome outlaws, wandering in the woods, or living by such plunder as they could seize from straggling parties of the queen's troops; until at length their sufferings and their lives came to an end together.

Their miserable ends.

In the beginning of the year 1580, Sir James of Desmond having been mortally wounded in an action near Cork, was taken to that city and executed as a traitor. There fell on the same occasion a hundred and fifty of his misguided followers. And in the beginning of the following year, 1581, his brother Sir John, having been first mortally wounded, and then taken prisoner, died on his way to the city of Cork.

And at last in 1583, the wretched earl of Desmond himself was killed in Kerry, by a party of soldiers, who were set to watch some property from which he had been plundering cattle. His head was sent to England, and impaled on London bridge. He had been invited by the lords justices in the preceding year to return to his allegiance, but had rejected the proposal with contempt. The traitorous legate Sanders had already met with a miserable fate, having been found, after two years' wandering in the

Fate of Dr. Sanders.

woods, dead and mangled by wild beasts. Such A.D. 1583.
 were the unhappy ends to which the principal
 leaders of this wicked and ill-concerted rebellion
 came: and the calamities in which they involved
 their unfortunate followers were still more ter-
 rible. Shortly after the death of the earl, his
 agent, the titular bishop of Killaloe, arrived
 from Spain with a reinforcement of men, money,
 and arms, too late in their coming to be of any
 use for the bad cause which they were intended
 to maintain.*

The desolating effects of this fatal rebellion Frightful
effects of the
Desmond
rebellion on
the country.
 were such, that the Queen was given to under-
 stand that she would have nothing left to reign
 over in Munster but ashes and carcasses. And
 that this statement was little exaggerated, would
 appear from the accounts handed down to us of
 the state of the country under the influence of
 the famine which was caused by the rebellion in
 question. For the operations of agriculture
 having been suspended, the people had but their
 cattle to live upon, and when these were carried
 away, some of the surviving inhabitants would
 follow the English soldiers and beg for death by
 the sword, rather than be left to die by the pro-
 tracted sufferings of starvation. The famous
 poet Spenser, who came over to Ireland in 1580
 as secretary to the lord deputy Gray of Wilton,

* Leland, ii. 287.

A.D. 1363.

*Sponsor's
account of
the famine
caused by it.*

and who was an eyewitness of the disasters of those times, has left on record the following awful description of the wretched scenes of woe which then presented themselves to view in that part of the kingdom. "Notwithstanding that the same was a most rich and plentiful country, says he," yet, ere one year and a half, they were brought to such wretchedness as that any stony heart would rue the same. Out of every corner of the woods and glens they came creeping forth upon their hands, for their legs would not bear them: they looked like anatomies of death; they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves: they did eat the dead carrions, happy where they could find them, yea and one another soon after; insomuch as the very carcases they spared not to scrape out of their graves; and if they found a plot of watercresses or shamrocks, there they flocked as to a feast for a time, yet not able to continue there withal: so that in short space there was none almost left, and a most populous and plentiful country suddenly left void of man or beast." Such were the blessings procured by the bulls of the pope's holiness for his deluded and infatuated victims.

*Forfeiture
of the es-
tates of the
earl of Des-
mond.*

The rebellion in Munster having terminated in the death of the earl of Desmond, his immense estates which extended through the counties of Cork, Waterford, Limerick, Tipperary

and Kerry, were soon afterwards confiscated, A.D. 1587. and declared by a parliament holden in 1586, to be forfeited to the queen. In the distribution of these lands, Sir Walter Raleigh obtained a large grant, including a great part of the town of Youghal, where he lived many years, and was the first to introduce into Ireland the culture of potatoes and the use of tobacco. The poet Spenser also among others obtained a grant of more than 3,000 acres at Kilcoleman in the county of Cork, where he resided for some time, and composed his famous poem *The Faërie Queene*, and his *View of the State of Ireland*, from which is extracted the passage relating to the famine, which we have set before the reader in the preceding page.

CHAP. VII.

CHARACTER AND INTRIGUES OF HUGH O'NIAL.—FOUNDATION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN.—SPENSER'S "VIEW OF IRELAND."
O'NIAL'S FIRST EXPLOIT AGAINST THE ENGLISH.

WE must not suppose that the troubles with which Queen Elizabeth's government had to contend in Ireland were terminated when the earl of Desmond's insurrection came to an end. On the contrary fresh disturbances were ready to succeed into their place, and the attention

Account of
Hugh
O'Nial and
his rebel-
lion.

A.D. 1867.

and cares of government in the latter years of her majesty's reign were to be occupied with a still more violent and dangerous rebellion than that of the Geraldine family. Many of the disaffected Irish lords were engaged in this design, but the one who acted the most conspicuous part in it was Hugh earl of Tyrone, whose great natural abilities, aided by his family influence and immense wealth, were well calculated to render him a suitable leader for such an undertaking.

His early
life, educa-
tion, and
personal
character.

Less respected in his clan on account of the illegitimacy of his descent, (his father Matthew the baron having been the son of a blacksmith's wife,) Hugh O'Nial entered early into the service of the English government, and in the Desmond insurrection was distinguished by his industry, activity, and valour. By an English education, and a constant intercourse with the state, he was enabled to add the polish of English manners, with some degree of mental cultivation, to a disposition of itself crafty and insinuating. And while he could associate with his countrymen of Ulster in all the simple wildness of their native Irish customs, he could also on occasion divest himself entirely of that character, and appear at court, not as an Irish chieftain, but in the refined elegance of an English gentleman.*

* *Leland, II. 206.*

But whatever advantages he may have become possessed of in this way, certain it is that Hugh O'Nial had imbibed from his ambiguous origin and amphibious education, qualities that entirely unfitted him for holding in a well ordered state of society any position calculated to prove useful or beneficial to his fellowmen. And he must needs therefore become a patriot, (according to the common use or abuse of that word,) in order to have within his reach a state of affairs that might furnish a proper scope for the exercise of his tyranny and turbulence, his high ambition and low cunning. And as all the world knows that patriots are a very moral, devout, and godly class of men, Hugh O'Nial who was to become the leader of a religious war, did not neglect paying a due attention to the value of this necessary qualification for the character which he proposed to sustain. It was true—that he did not for the most part allow the bands of Christian principle to press on him too tightly, or exercise an unpleasant restraint on his brutal appetites, his lust, ambition, and revenge. It was true—that he had murdered with his own hand Hugh *na Gaveloch*, (or Hugh *of the fetters*.) son of the late Shane O'Nial, when no other person of his clan could be found to execute the deed on one that bore the honoured name of an O'Nial. But then he had first “condemned” him of

A. D. 1587.
His fitness
for the
leadership of
a religious
war.

A. D. 1867.

having given assurances to the lord deputy that he would furnish him with evidence on oath against Hugh himself as a traitor to her majesty. It was true—that he could attend the reformed worship in Dublin, although hating it in his heart. But then a little sanctified hypocrisy of that kind must not be too severely censured in a defender of the pope's Catholic faith. It was true—that he cared little about perfidious truce-breaking, or whether by low artifices or by bold and open warfare he gained advantages over his enemies. But then he had to deal with heretics; some of whom likewise were ready to act in the same way. It was true—that few things gave him greater pleasure than to be revenged on his enemies, which some scrupulous friends of the Christian religion might dislike as contrary to the authority of God and the teaching of Christ.* But principles of this sort were not then much cared for, nor thought of much use in a war for the "Catholic" cause. It was also true—that Hugh O'Nial, while his own lawful wife was living, had run away with the heretic sister of his enemy, the English marshal Bagnal, and had made his own of her by marriage. But then such an act may well meet with a little "indulgence" in one who, as O'Sullivan informs us, "took care to have her

* St. Mat. v. 44. Rom. xii. 19.

converted from Protestantism to the Catholic faith," and thus hindered a very beautiful woman from becoming the lawful wife of some English heretic. And this offence was the more pardonable as being a kind of family characteristic of these O'Nials, abundantly exemplified among them in Hugh's own time, who could remember that his own father had for parent a blacksmith's wife, (not but that Earl Con Baccagh had also lawful children besides,) and that Hugh na Gaveloch above mentioned, whom he had murdered, was the son of Shane O'Nial (who had legitimate sons also,) by the wife of his neighbour Calvagh O'Donel, whom he had brought away from her own country as part of the spoils of war, after a battle or faction fight between the two clans, and subsequently made his wife. For so incorrigibly barbarous in their customs were some of these old Irish, that notwithstanding all the time they had been under the popes' training, they still after three or four centuries were so little improved by the careful discipline of the Roman prelates, as to exhibit even yet not a little of that indifference to the marriage contract, and other social duties of good churchmen, for deficiency of which the popes of olden time had employed their "dearly beloved children" the English, to come over sword in hand, to cut the throats if necessary, of some of the disorderly

A. D. 1587.

The Irish
not much
the better
for papal
discipline.

A.D. 1587.

Irish of the twelfth century, with a view to the benefit and reformation of the survivors.

But how ill-conditioned must have been the people of this country—and how unhappy religion—and how unfortunate the popes—when after all their pains and care, it was found necessary, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, to entrust the defence of the Catholic faith to a horde of adulterers like the O'Nials, or a tribe like the Desmonds, whose leader had no knowledge in learning, and was quite ignorant of religion, and whose appropriate allies, in the judgment of a Roman pontiff, were such banditti as even Italy spued out from a place in her society.

H. O'Nial
visits Queen
Elizabeth in
England,
and obtains
the Tyrone
title and
property.

In consequence of the apparent steadiness of Hugh O'Nial's friendship for the English government, and the services rendered by him in the late rebellion, the Irish parliament held in 1586-7 were induced to listen favourably to a petition presented by him, requesting that he might be restored to the ancient honours of his family, the title and estates which had been forfeited by the attainer of the late Shane O'Nial. The title was accordingly granted. The question relative to the inheritance of the property was referred to the queen. But Hugh O'Nial having succeeded in obtaining from the chief governor Sir J. Perrot, a recommendation to her majesty, visited her in person himself; and having re-

course to his natural arts of dissimulation and flattery, he by his winning ways and cajoling promises gained so much on her good graces, that she was pleased to confirm his title, and grant him anew, free of rent, all the large inheritance which had been formerly annexed to it; reserving only a small piece on the river Black-water for the erection of a stronghold, on which was accordingly built the fortress of Portmore. Nevertheless, much as he had been indebted to the English power for his greatness, yet while Spain was preparing her enormous fleet, the Armada, to come and invade our shores in A.D. 1588, Hugh O'Nial was at the same time silently concerting his hostile plans of treason, and secretly endeavouring to engage others of the Irish chieftains to join in them. He was also preparing his own followers by training them to the use of arms and English military discipline, as he had been permitted to raise a force of six companies for the service of the state; and in order to have a supply of ammunition ready when occasion should require, he procured to be introduced into Dungannon a vast quantity of lead, to cover, as he pretended, the battlements of a house which he was going to build after the English fashion, but in reality to be used for the purposes of war. Motives of policy however induced this crafty O'Nial to dissemble

A.D. 1587.

A.D. 1588.
His treachery.

A.D. 1588.

Further notice of efforts towards the establishment of an University in Ireland.

his intentions, and wear for some years the garb of a loyal subject.*

The course of our narrative has now brought us to the date of an event of much importance in connection with the interests of religion and learning in Ireland. This was the foundation and endowment by the queen of the university of Dublin. Of the attempts made in the fourteenth century for the erection of such an institution, we have already taken notice. Again in 1465, under King Edward IV., it was enacted in a parliament convened at Drogheda, by Thomas earl of Desmond, that a university should be established in that town, and endowed with liberties and privileges similar to those of the university of Oxford. No mode however appears to have been adopted for providing adequate funds for carrying out the design ; so that in the end it was totally disregarded and forgotten in the tumult of civil affairs.† Again in the parliament of 1569 a motion was made towards re-establishing the university that had formerly been erected in 'the church of St. Patrick's, and to support it by voluntary contributions ; but this plan although promoted by that sincere and zealous friend of religious reformation, Sir H. Sidney, had like the former failed

* Leland, ii. 306—308. Phelan, 171, 172. Maitt, i. 28.

† Leland, ii. 319.

of success.* Once more Sir John Perrot when lord deputy in 1584, made an attempt, agreeably to instructions which he had received for his government of the country, to convert the cathedral of St. Patrick's into an university, to be supported out of its revenues. But Archbishop Loftus warmly opposed this plan, his objections to it being greatly strengthened by interested motives connected with the revenues aforesaid; and the result was, that the project of Sir J. Perrot was in consequence defeated.

But soon after a similar plan was proposed by Archbishop Loftus himself, which met with happier success. "In Easter holidays," as Ware informs us, in the year 1590, "Adam Loftus, lord archbishop of Dublin, and lord chancellor of Ireland, with others of the clergy, met the mayor, and aldermen, and commons of the city, at the Tholsel, where he made a speech to them, setting forth 'how advantageous it would be to have a nursery of learning founded here; and how kindly her majesty would take it, if they would bestow that old decayed monastery of All-Hallows, which her father King Henry VIII. had at the dissolution of the abbey, given them, for erecting such a structure;' whereupon the mayor, aldermen, and commons unanimously granted his request."† This grant was con-

A.D. 1584.

Foundation
of Trinity
College,
Dublin.
A.D. 1590.

* Leland, H. 212.

† Ware's *Annals*, in an. Mont. I. 317.

A.D. 1592. **firmed by the queen's warrant, dated December 29, 1591, and by royal letters patent for the erection of the "College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity," dated on the 3rd of March following. On the 13th of the same month the first stone of the new building was laid by Thomas Smith then mayor of Dublin, and on the 9th of the next January, A.D. 1592-3, the first students were admitted into it.**

Views of the Romish party with regard to the newly erected College.

The foundation of this new institution was regarded with no small diapprobation by the zealots of Rome, who looked upon the act as one of the many assaults perpetrated on their Church by the English princes, and especially by Queen Elizabeth. From the following passage indited by Peter Lombard, an eminent writer of theirs, we may sufficiently learn their sentiments in regard to this matter. "But however," says he. "that the youth [of the country] might not appear to be left without instruction in letters, yea that this matter might rather seem to be viewed with more favourable attention than at any former time, when the want of an university for this realm, so often expressed, had never before been supplied; some years ago there has been erected by decree of the queen (though at the cost of the natives) a most capacious and splendid College, in which arrangements have been made for giving instruction in all the liberal arts; the teachers

however to be heretics ; and these to be supplied from England, there being no possibility of procuring them in Ireland ; and they have also received, with a view to propagating and establishing their own religious system, the office of preaching their evangelical doctrine in the city of Dublin, and likewise a commission for enforcing the oath of the queen's supremacy in matters ecclesiastical on the young persons to whom they communicate literary instruction.*

A. D. 1593.

Of the deplorable condition of the Church and of religion in the country at this time a very painful description is furnished to us in the *View of the State of Ireland* by the poet Spenser ; a work written at some period of the interval from 1593 to 1598. In the perusal of this tract it may be necessary to bear in mind the tendency to exaggerate which has been attributed to the author ; but even making all due allowance for this consideration, still the statements which he makes, however thus qualified, present after all to the mind of the reader, a shocking and repulsive picture of the realities upon which his tract must have been founded, as will be sufficiently seen in a few brief extracts from it which we proceed to subjoin.†

Spenser's
*View of the
State of Ire-
land.*

* Pet. Lombard, *Comment. de Regno Hibernia* Lovan. 1632, p. 273.

† Vid. Mant. l. 320, seqq. This tract of Spenser's was published by Sir J. Ware in 1633. See his *Writers of Ireland*. p. 327.

A. D. 1693.
His description
of the
character of
the clergy of
this period.

Profligate
conduct of
some of the
bishops.

Of the ministers of religion, "excepting the grave fathers which are in high place about the state, and some few others which are lately planted in their new College," he gives the following truly miserable account:—"Whatever disorders you see in the Church of England, ye may find in Ireland and many more; namely, gross simony, greedy covetousness, fleshly incontinency, careless sloth, and generally, all disordered life in the common clergymen. And besides all these, they have their particular enormities; for all Irish priests, which now enjoy church livings, they are in a manner mere laymen, saving that they have taken holy orders; but otherwise they do go and live like laymen, follow all kind of husbandry, and other worldly affairs, as other Irishmen do. They neither read the Scriptures nor preach to the people, nor administer the communion; but baptism they do: for they christen yet after the Popish fashion. Only they take the tythes and offerings, and gather what fruit else they may of ther livings." This testimony accords with that of Sir H. Sidney already mentioned, who regarded ministers of the kind as being not so much Irish priests as "Irish rogues."

By such persons it was not very likely that religious reformation could be much promoted. And as for the bishops, there was almost as

little to be expected from them, they being in too many instances unworthy men, ill-qualified for their solemn and holy office, and of wordly and covetous minds. "Yea and some of them," says Spenser, "whose dioceses are in remote parts, somewhat out of the world's eye, do not at all bestow the benefices which are in their own donation upon any, but keep them in their own hands, and set up their own servants and horse-boys to take up the tythes and fruits of them, with the which some of them purchase great lands, and build fair castles upon the same," having, as the same writer adds, a very plausible excuse in readiness for their misconduct, viz., that they have no worthy ministers on whom to bestow those preferments, and that they are only waiting until any such competent persons be proposed to their notice.

A. D. 1593.

The scarcity of churches was another point which engaged the attention of the poet. And their desolation must have been great indeed, as he speaks of "building up and repairing all the ruined churches," of which he remarks that "the most part lie even with the ground." And then as to the people of the flocks themselves, he tells us that "they be *all* Papists by their profession, but in the same so blindly and brutishly informed, for the most part, that not one amongst an hundred knoweth any ground of religion, or any

State of the churches, and of the people.

A. D. 1562.

Spenser's
prudent
suggestions
for improv-
ing the state
of religion.

article of his faith: but can perhaps say his Pater Noster, or his Ave-Maria, without any knowledge, or understanding what one word thereof meaneth."

Such lamentable and wide-spread irreligion Spenser attributes less to the fault of the rulers of the land, than to the disturbances of the period which he describes; instruction in religion being a work that needed for its accomplishment a season of quiet; and it being "ill time to preach among swords," and a hopeless task to win over to our opinions men holding a decidedly evil opinion of ourselves. He therefore wisely recommends that "religion should not be sought forcibly to be impressed into them, with terror and sharp penalties, as is now the manner, but rather delivered and intimated with mildness and gentleness, so as it may not be hated before it be understood, and their professors despised and rejected. And therefore," he adds, "it is expedient that some discreet ministers of their own countrymen be first sent over amongst them, which by their meek persuasions and instructions, as also by their sober lives and conversations, may draw them first to understand and then to embrace, the doctrine of their salvation."

Sir Francis
Bacon's ad-
vice on the
same sub-
ject.

It appears to have been about this same time that the same subject of the improvement

of Ireland occupied the attention of another famous Englishman, the celebrated Sir Francis Bacon. A. D. 1593.
 Contrary to the sentiments of many, if not most, of the earnest religionists of all parties in his day, he recommended that "a toleration of religion, (for a time not definite,) except it be in some principal towns and precincts," should be adopted as a matter not unwarrantable on religious grounds, in policy absolutely necessary. "But there would go," according to his advice, "hand in hand with this, some course of advancing religion indeed where the people is capable thereof; as the sending over some good preachers, especially of that sort which are vehement and zealous persuaders, and not scholastical, to be resident in principal towns" for the work of the ministry. Among other suggestions of similar tendency, he takes care to refer also to the importance of communicating religious instruction to the Irish people through the medium of their own language.*

But to return to the history of Hugh O'Nial. H. O'Nial charged with traitorous proceedings. A.D. 1594.
 Though still wearing, in A.D. 1594, the appearance of a loyal subject, his conduct had in many instances appeared highly suspicious. And Marshal Bagnal believing that he had sufficient grounds for the impeachment of the chieftain, forwarded accordingly an accusation against him

* Mant. I. 339.

A. D. 1804.Maguire's
insurrec-
tion.Pastoral
exhortations of
a titular
primate.

to the lord deputy Fitz-William. The earl of Tyrone also made answer against the charges by letter to the deputy. But this wicked and unjust governor, whose whole object was to enrich himself, took no care to bring the matter to a just issue ; but sent forward the accusation to England, while he kept back the earl's defence of his conduct.*

Meanwhile a creature of the deputy, named Willis, having been appointed, as it seems, sheriff in Fermanagh, was imitating the behaviour of his rapacious patron, and living with his greedy followers upon the spoil and oppression of the country. Irritated at this conduct, Maguire the Irish chieftain of the district broke out into rebellion, and would have cut off the sheriff and his men, had not O'Nial with a crafty affectation of anxiety for their safety interfered to procure that they should be let off peaceably ; an act which he knew well how to turn to his own advantage with the government.

Maguire being now regarded as a traitor, the lord deputy sent orders to Marshal Bagnol to proceed with some troops to attack him in Fermanagh. But the chieftain meanwhile, at the instigation of the titular archbishop of Armagh, had invaded Connaught in order to excite commotions there and prey upon the country, so as

* Morison, b. i. ch. i. p. 29. Ireland, II. 323.

to weaken the English power in that quarter. This titular primate, whose name was Magauran, lived for the most part with Maguire. He was employed by the pope as his agent for the purpose of exciting the Irish to exertions in the cause of the Romish religion, and when Maguire at his entreaty undertook this expedition to Connaught, the proclaimed traitor was accompanied by the warlike prelate, who fell with many of his followers in the first engagement.*

A. D. 1394.

Marshal Bagnal in his expedition against Fermanagh at this time was accompanied by the artful Earl O'Nial, whose affected loyalty acquired an additional appearance of sincerity, not only from the loyal zeal and useful services which he exhibited in this struggle, but also from a wound which he received in his thigh, while charging the queen's enemies. His aid was in fact very useful in procuring their defeat. For as he was not yet able to make a grand display against the government, or to meet their forces openly in the field, he had little objection to lend them aid in struggles of minor importance, when by so doing he might increase at the same time his own power and consequence.

O'Nial's activity in the war against Maguire.

It seems to have been at this time, when Hugh O'Nial could presume somewhat upon his good behaviour, that he caused to be addressed to the

Captain Lee's memorial to the queen in favour of H. O'Nial.

* Leland, ii. 329.

A.D. 1804. queen a very singular and impudent memorial, conveying the strongest protestations of his loyalty, and courting further favours from the hand of her majesty.* The person whom he employed in drawing up this document was an English officer named Lee, with whom he seems to have made an acquaintance while serving in the royal army, and whom he found to be an excellent instrument for his purpose; Lee being an innocent, unsuspecting creature, who imagined that he possessed O'Nial's full confidence, and was greatly elated at the notion of being the intimate friend of that great man, whose character, as he thought, was so ill appreciated by his less familiar acquaintances. But this poor fellow himself was completely duped by the wily O'Nial, who practised on him trickery and deception of the lowest kinds, while inducing him to suppose that he was all candour. So far indeed did his affected friendship towards him go, that he would often, as Lee himself mentions, make him his bed-fellow, and on such occasions "bemoan himself with tears in his eyes, saying that if he knew any way in the world to behave himself otherwise than he hath done, to procure her majesty's good opinion of him, he would not spare to offer himself to serve her highness in any part of the world, though he were sure to lose his life."

* *Vid. Phalan*, 173—177.

Captain Lee's great object was to represent O'Nial as the person best qualified to direct the administration of Irish affairs, for which purpose he strives to show that he was one from whose power and influence every thing may be feared, or every thing hoped, according to the treatment which he should receive from her majesty; and that "if the war which was now apprehended from him" was to break out indeed, that it would prove more serious than all that were before it. Lee recommends therefore that means should be adopted for gaining the good-will of the earl, and "drawing him by any reasonable conditions unto her majesty." Among these reasonable conditions one was to be, that the earl should have the power of executing by martial law in his own country: "and I dare say," observes Lee, "he may every year hang five hundred false knaves, and yet reserve a great stock to himself; he cannot hang amiss there so he hang somebody." As for O'Nial's opposition to the reformed religion, Lee admits that his friend was certainly inclined to the Romish faith, but yet he says with less of bigotry and prejudice "than some of the greatest in the English pale; for when he is with the state, he will accompany the lord deputy to the church and home again, and will stay to hear service and sermon; they as soon as they have brought the lord deputy to

A. D. 1584.

Proposal
that O'Nial
should have
license to
hang the
Ulster peo-
ple.

Lee's
opinion of
O'Nial's re-
ligious
views.

A.D. 1804.

the church door, depart as if they were wild cats ; but he in my conscience with good conference would be reformed ; for he hath only one little cub of an English priest by whom he is seduced for want of his friends' access unto him, who might otherwise uphold him." Such are a few specimens of the long and silly, though amusing and somewhat instructive, memorial of this worthy captain. We have no occasion to dwell further on it here, except so far as merely to add, what we need scarcely however mention, that the English government was not quite so foolish as to adopt the suggestions, or enter into the views, of their witless counsellor.

A.D. 1805.
O'Nial at-
tacks the
Blackwater
Fort and
expels the
garrison.

On the contrary, such vigorous measures were now adopted for checking the turbulence of the unruly chieftain of the north, that in the following year O'Nial, alarmed at the preparations which were made against him, determined on striking some grand blow, such as might inspire confidence into his friends, and give a better appearance to the state of the cause which he had at heart. And therefore on some frivolous pretence of injuries received from the English soldiers of Blackwater Fort, he attacked the place with a strong force and expelled the garrison.* And when the deputy Sir William Russell was now advancing upon him with his

* Leland, ii. 323. Morison, pp. 24, 25.

forces to punish this injury, O'Nial wrote in his usual style a letter professing much attachment and loyalty to the queen, and imputing his late conduct to the necessity of self defence; although he was at the same time applying by his agents to the court of Spain for aid to support him in his treason against her majesty's authority. However as no appearance of the arrival of this aid was observable in the winter of 1595, he was obliged to delay his hostile demonstrations, and amuse the government with new professions of a desire to live if possible, in peace and loyalty.*

A.D. 1595.

CHAP. VIII.

OF THE FURTHER PROGRESS OF O'NIAL'S REBELLION TO ITS TERMINATION.

THE reader of the present work will have little occasion to regret that its nature and scope are such as to excuse us from encumbering our pages in this place with any particular account of the hypocritical negotiations, artful stratagems, and military skirmishes with which O'Nial occupied the time and attention of government in 1596 and the early part of 1597. Suffice it to notice that in the former year he was encouraged by the arrival of three Spanish pinnaces with some

Further proceedings between O'Nial and the English.

* Leland, ii. 236

to expel the garrison once more from the fortress of Portmore, and recover the ground which he had lost in that important quarter. But having in vain attempted to make himself master of the place by storming it, he encamped in the neighbourhood with his army, intending to force the garrison by famine to surrender. Meanwhile however large forces were sent northwards for the relief of the besieged, under the command of his old enemy Marshal Bagnal; and these having come to an engagement with O'Nial's followers, a violent and bloody battle took place between the two armies in the month of August of this year, 1598; when the English troops were defeated with great loss, fifteen hundred of their men and thirteen officers having been slain, and the fortress with all its ammunition and military stores falling into the hands of the enemy; who on their part acknowledged a loss of only two hundred slain and six hundred wounded. A victory so decisive was sufficient to spread commotion throughout all Ireland; and many other of the chieftains now attached themselves to the standard of O'Nial; including several of the Geraldines who had lost their possessions after the rebellion of the earl of Desmond had come to an end. In fact the cause of loyalty now became involved in disorder and peril generally throughout the island.*

A. D. 1598.

The queen's forces defeated with serious loss.

* lb. 346—349.

A.D. 1599.

Expedition
of the earl of
Essex to
Ireland;
and its re-
sult.

But the English government perceiving the alarming danger to which the country was now exposed, at a time when a Spanish invasion was still impending, resolved on sending over to Ireland a much larger body of troops than had ever before been provided for this country; and a force of 20,000 men was therefore equipped for the Irish service, under the command of the earl of Essex, who accordingly arrived in Dublin in the month of April, 1599.* His military operations against the rebels were however of little importance; and after his having suffered some serious losses, a mischievous conference took place between him and O'Nial, in which a truce of six weeks was agreed upon between both parties, the earl of Tyrone expecting further supplies from Spain, and not wishing, with all his advantages, to engage in battle before they had arrived. Immediately after the conference, the earl of Essex, disgusted probably with his experience of military life in Ireland, and having other motives which are nothing to our purpose at present, left his Irish command and returned home to his own people.

A titular
archbishop
of Dublin
comes with
foreign aid
for the
rebels.

Scarcely had he departed when there arrived in Ireland a further instalment of the expected succours from Spain; and one Don Mattheo Oviedo, a Spanish friar, whom the pope had

* *Ireland, B. 384. Phelan, 179, 180.*

nominated as his archbishop of Dublin, landed with a large supply of money and ammunition, and promises of immediate and powerful reinforcements from his own country. Of his arrival the following account is furnished by O'Sullivan:—"In a few days there came into Ulster Friar Matthew Oviedo, a Spaniard, archbishop [*i. e.* titular] of Dublin, and Martin Cerda, a noble Spanish knight, bringing from the pope indulgences and remission of sins for all that would take up arms against the English in defence of the faith; and for O'Nial a phoenix plume, and from his Catholic majesty Philip III. (for the second of that name was now dead) twenty-two thousand pieces of gold for the payment of soldiers." What the pope meant by pretending to send the chieftain the feathers of a fabulous bird appears not very plain; unless it was a sly intimation that he understood sufficiently the apocryphal and fabulous character of the pretences which he made of being engaged in a war for the sake of true religion.*

A.D. 1600.

His recent advantages, and the promises made to him so raised the spirits of the earl of Tyrone, or *The O'Nial*, as he was now called, that he recommenced hostilities as soon as the truce had expired; and sent forth also a manifesto or

O'Nial becomes the champion of the Church of Rome.

* O'Sullivan, Hist. Cath. Ib. tom. iii. lib. iv. c. xii. Leland, ii. 363. Phelan, 186.

A. D. 1599.

proclamation to all his countrymen, dated the 15th November, 1599, exhorting them to forsake heresy, and stand up for their country's "liberty and the Catholic faith."* And many and influential were the chieftains who gladly received the summons, and attended to his call. But the first place in authority as in fame was unanimously assigned to O'Nial, and all willingly regarded him as the great champion and leader of the insurgent cause.

Numbers of
the Irish
retain their
allegiance to
the queen.

It would be wrong however to leave on the reader's mind the impression that there prevailed among the Irish an universal readiness to take up arms against their own sovereign at the bidding of an alien bishop. O'Sullivan himself confesses, although it was his business to represent the religious zeal of his countrymen in the most advantageous point of view, that "a considerable party among this clergy recommended a dutiful submission to government, and opposed the practices of their more intemperate brethren;" and he likewise gives a long catalogue of nobles, both native and Anglo-Irish, who after the war had commenced, adhered to the queen and fought against the pope, notwith-

* A copy of this document of O'Nial's may be seen in Leland, ii. 364. Mr. Phelan in his usual inaccurate way has given the same in a mutilated form; leaving out a considerable portion without any notice to the reader of such omission. See his *Policy*, &c., pp. 184—186.

standing the denunciations uttered against such A.D. 1599.
 "ignorant, foolish, abandoned, guilty, and soul-
 destroying" conduct by the more loyal children
 of the court of Rome.*

The very champion of the papacy also, in his O'Nial's
reproof of
the conduct
of such per-
sons.
 manifesto above mentioned, indicates plainly
 enough the spirit of obedience to the queen
 by which many of the Irish were influenced,
 and their unwillingness to be seduced into the
 selfish schemes of their designing agitators.
 O'Nial tells his countrymen that he had hitherto
 used extraordinary mildness† towards them, in
 not allowing his forces to hurt them for their
 indifference to his cause, a gentleness which he
 adopted, he says, partly because they were pro-
 fessedly "Catholicks," and partly because he had
 hoped that in course of time they would be led
 to consider the guiltiness which they brought on
 their own "consciences, in maintaining, reliev-
 ing, and helping the enemies of God and our
 country, in wars infallibly tending to the pro-
 motion of heresie."

"But now," says he, "seeing you are so obsti- He threat-
ens them
with exter-
mination
for their ob-
stinate loy-
alty.
 nate in that in which you have hitherto con-
 tinued, of necessitie I must use severity against
 you, whom otherwise I most entirely loved, in
 reclayming you by compulsion, when my long

* Leland, ii. 306. Phelan, 182. O'Sullivan, Hist. Cath. 233.

† Proverbs, xlii. 19.

A.D. 1600.

tollerance and happy victories by God's particular favour doubtlessly obtained, could work no alteration in your consciences. Considering notwithstanding the great calamitie and miserie whereunto you are most likely to fall, by persevering in that damnable state in which hitherto ye have lived, having thereof commiseration, hereby I thought good and convenient to forewarn you, requesting everie of you to come and joyn with me against the enemies of God and our poor country. If the same ye do not, I will use means not only to spoil you of all your goods, but according to the utmost of my power shall work what I can to dispossess you of all your lands; because you are the means whereby warres are maintained against the exaltation of the Catholic faith;" and to what he called the Catholic faith, he says he is determined to reduce the country by all means; a work which as he remarks "can never be brought to any good pass, without either the destruction or helping hands" of those whom he addresses.

Specimen of
his "Catho-
lic faith" in
deposing of
princes.

As for her majesty's authority, he disposes of that in the following religious and Christian sentences:—"Some Catholicks," says he, "doe think themselves bound to obey the queen as their lawful prince; which is denyed, in respect that she was deprived of all such kingdoms, dominions, and possessions, which otherwise

perhaps should have been due unto her, inso-
much as she is left a private person, and no man
bound to give her obedience; and beyond all
this, such as were sworn to be faithful unto her,
were by his holyness absolved from performance
thereof, seeing she is, by a declaration of excom-
munication pronounced a heretic; neither is
there any revocation of the excommunication,
as some Catholicks do most falsely, for parti-
cular affection, surmise; for the sentence was
in the beginning given for heresie, and for con-
tinued heresie the same was continued."

A.D. 1588.

This patriotic address from the acknowledged
champion of the cause of the Church of Rome
in Ireland is worthy of notice as supplying us
with authentic information upon at least two
interesting particulars. For first it shows us
what was the authorised belief held by O'Nial
and his followers with regard to the relative
authorities of pope and queen, and the power
claimed by the bishop of Rome to depose princes
and absolve subjects from their oaths of alle-
giance. And secondly, as already remarked,
it shows how little cordial sympathy there could
have existed between this tyrant and many of
those whom he would compel, at peril of their
destruction, to lend their aid to his unholy war-
fare. And we need therefore little wonder at
the account given by Sir John Davis of their

Tyranny of
O'Nial and
the other
chieftains
towards the
common
people.

A. D. 1600.

sentiments at the accession of King James when the rebellion was over. "The Irishry," says he, "who in former times were left under the tyranny of their lords and chiefs, were received into his majesty's immediate protection. Our visitation of the shires, however distasteful to the Irish lords, was sweet and most welcome to the common people; they were now taught that they were free subjects to the king, and not slaves and vassals to their pretended lords, whose extortions were unlawful, and that they should not any more submit thereunto;" and "they gave" naturally enough, "a willing ear unto these lessons."*

O'Nial's
hypocrisy
unsuccessful
in de-
ceiving.

We must not suppose that O'Nial's hypocritical professions of being influenced by a zeal for truth and religion were successful in deceiving very generally those whom he had to deal with. On the contrary, all classes, English and Irish alike, appear to have been fully conscious of the hollowness of his pretences. Some that he was obliged to allow to be very good Catholics, (according to his sense of the word,) or, as he expresses it, "very Catholickly given," were cold in their feelings towards his cause for this account. They "will not seem," he says, "to understand my good meaning therein, but . . . conster my warres to be for my particula-

* Phelan. 244.

rities," i.e. his own particular advantages and selfish ends; and he labours to explain to such Catholics his very suspicious conduct in not announcing that religion was his motive to engage in rebellion at the first commencement of his proceedings. How much his soldiers cared about any form of religion we may judge when we read that, on their march from the north they "robbed and spoiled the monasteries of Timnaleague and Kilcrea, and profaned other churches," like their brethren who had fought for "the Catholic faith" in the Geraldine wars, of whom we have had occasion to take notice already. And yet O'Nial in his negotiations with the English—as for instance in his conference with the earl of Essex—could affect to be anxious about liberty of conscience in matters of religion, making it one of his principal demands. But how far he was able on that occasion to impose upon his adversary may be collected from the reply of the English nobleman in these words:—"Religion, man, thou hast no more religion than my horse!" The matter was equally plain to King James I., who with reference to a report spread by some that he was going to persecute O'Nial and his accomplices on religious grounds, took occasion to remark, that such being their condition and profession, to think murder no

A. D. 1599.

Piety of his soldiers.

Remarks of the earl of Essex and of King James I. on O'Nial's religion.

A. D. 1800.

Hatred of
the Spaniards
towards the
Irish.

Impiety of
Eugene
M'Egan and
other titular
bishops.

fault, marriage of no use, nor any man worthy to be esteemed valiant that did not glory in rapine and oppression, he "should have thought it an unreasonable thing to trouble them for any different point in religion, before any man could perceive by their conversation that they made truly conscience of any religion."* This want of a devout and reverential spirit in the Irish rebel chieftains and their followers, caused them to be regarded with much hatred and aversion by some of their foreign allies. "The contempt and scorn," said Lord Mountjoy, "in which the Spaniards held the Irish, and the distaste which the Irish had for them, were not to be believed by any but those who were present to see their behaviours and hear their speeches:" and on one occasion a Spanish officer is reported to have expressed his conviction "that Christ did not die for the Irish."

In addition to a Spanish archbishop, Ireland had now a Spanish general waging war "in the name of Christ and the king of Spain;" who also like O'Nial published a manifesto, containing nearly the same kind of matter as that which appeared in the address of the Irish chieftain; lavishing the fairest promises on the popular leaders of the country if they would abandon the pretended queen, and concluding with a decla-

* Mont, 261.

ration "that those who persist in supporting an excommunicated heretic, must themselves be treated as heretics, and persecuted even to death." In accordance with this pious sentiment, Eugene M'Egan, the titular bishop of Ross, and vicar apostolic of Munster, supported by his titular episcopal brethren of Clonfert and Killaloe, and by other leading ecclesiastics, was at this time thundering out anathemas against all who should take up arms in the cause of heresy, or give quarter to the prisoners of the heretical army. And when any of such offenders fell into his hands, they were first restored, by absolution, to the peace of the Church, and then instantly executed in his presence. At length the "sturdy fanatic" while he led on his troop of a hundred horse against a party of loyalists, with his sword in one hand and his breviary and beads in the other, met his own fate as coolly as he had on former occasions witnessed the deaths of his ill-fated prisoners.*

So elated had O'Nial been with his victory at the Blackwater, and the fame and increase of strength which it procured for him, that he began thereupon to assume to himself the rights of a sovereign prince in all Ireland, and would fain exercise the powers and prerogatives attached to such a dignity. And as the earl of

A. D. 1599.

Further applications from O'Nial &c., to the courts of Rome and Spain.

* Leland, ii. 484. Phelan, 193.

A.D. 1499.

Desmond was now dead, and his son and heir was still detained as a prisoner of the state in England, "the prince" of Ulster thought good to nominate another of the family as titular earl, pretending to endow him with not the honours only but also the estates which had belonged to the late earl of Desmond. But the common Irish, struck with such novel and ridiculous audacity, bestowed on this new nobleman another title, and gave him in general the denomination of the "*Suggawn earl*," i.e. the *Earl of straw*. He had however no mean opinion of his own dignity; and his self-conceit rising very rapidly with the power of his patron O'Nial, we find him early in the year 1599 writing to the king of Spain, abusing Queen Elizabeth, bragging of his own exploits in rooting out settlers from Munster, and reclaiming the nobility to the Church, and begging to have a supply of men and ammunition sent over to enable him to reduce the towns and places of defence which were held for the queen, and thus to aid him in completing the work which he had so successfully commenced. Another letter from O'Nial, this Desmond, and other of their accomplices, was despatched to Pope Clement, in which the chieftain "prostrating himself before the *Father of Spirits on earth*," earnestly begged of his holiness to send over a supply of pious and learned pastors to

the afflicted Church of Ireland, and besought him also to renew the sentence of excommunication against Elizabeth, fulminated by his predecessors, as a help to the cause in that country. In return to this application the pontiff contented himself with sending O'Nial a bull similar to those atrocious profanations of Christianity which his pious predecessors had on former occasions granted to the friends of the Geraldine rebellion; whereby O'Nial and all his confederates and assistants were now to share the same spiritual blessings as the popes of Rome, in their zeal for the Christian cause, were wont to dispense to those who engaged in the wars of the Holy Land.*

A. D. 1599.

Bull of
Pope Cle-
ment VIII.
in reply.
April 18,
A.D. 1600.

But before this papal document (which was issued in April, A.D. 1600) had seen the light, the English government had already prepared means more energetic and effectual than any which had yet been set on foot for crushing the rebellion that raged in Ireland; and already in the month of February of this year, Charles Blount, lord Mountjoy, had been sent over to take the command in this country; an officer of such sagacity, courage, and untiring diligence, as made him well suited for such an important

Lord
Mountjoy
sent over to
prosecute
the war
against
O'Nial.

* Leland, ii. 368. Phelan, i. 188. See Appendix, No. xxix. Mr. Phelan incorrectly makes the bull of 1601 (instead of that of 1600) appear as if sent in reply to the letter of O'Nial, &c., penned in 1599.

A. D. 1600. expedition, and proved ere long that O'Nial had at length met with an adversary who was somewhat of a match for him, and not so easy to be weakened or cajoled as those who had preceded him in this service. And although at his arrival the army of the earl of Essex had been now reduced to 14,000 foot, and 1,200 horse, and officers and men were through losses and misfortunes dispirited and weak, the cool judgment and prudence of the now commander soon gave them fresh animation, and gradually accustomed them to stand once more before their enemies with advantage and success. Passing over the details of military proceedings which occupied both parties during the first year after Lord Mountjoy's arrival, (and which form no part of the proper subject of this work,) we may briefly mention that by the summer of 1601 the rebel cause had been much weakened; garrisons numerous and strong had been established in Ulster and elsewhere; and among the rest the important fortress of the Blackwater had been once more secured by the English, and given in charge to the soldiers of their army.*

Oviado's
exertions to
promote the
rebellion.

The hopes entertained by the insurgents of receiving aid from Rome and Spain were not however yet exhausted, the friends and agents of those foreign powers exerting themselves to

* Leland, ii. 371, seqq.

the utmost to promote and maintain the continuance of the war against her majesty Queen Elizabeth. Of these agents one of the most active was Mattheo de Oviedo, already mentioned as having been appointed pope's archbishop of Dublin; who however on arriving in the country appears to have troubled himself little about the state of his nominal diocese, giving his attention rather to the exclusive object of promoting the civil war in Ireland; and he therefore proceeded immediately to the chieftains O'Nial and O'Donel, with whom having remained for some little time concerting plans of treason against the sovereign of the country, he returned once more to Spain to accelerate the despatch of the succours which were expected by his party from that quarter.

A.D. 1600.

In the month of January, 1601, Pope Clement addressed to Hugh O'Nial another of his encouraging epistles in favour of "the Catholic cause" in Ireland. In this flattering address to the prince he expresses his great joy and thankfulness to God the Father of Mercies who had "still left in Ireland many thousands of men who have not bowed the knee to Baal. For these," observes the pontiff, "have not gone after impious heresies or profane novelties, but have fought manfully in detestation of them, for the inheritance of their fathers, for the pre-

Another
bull from
Pope Cle-
ment with
fresh bless-
ings for the
rebels.
Jan. 1601.

A.D. 1690.

Difference
between the
Old Style
of Pope
John XXII.
and New
Style of the
Popes Gre-
gory XIII.
and Cle-
ment VIII.
towards the
enemies of
England.

servation of the faith, for the maintenance of unity with the one Catholic and apostolic Church, out of which there is no salvation." And commending their "zeal in the Catholic cause," he immediately subjoins—"Preserve, children, this excellent spirit, preserve your mutual concord; and the God of peace will be with you, and will prostrate your enemies before your face."* Then are added other expressions of kindness and love on the part of the pope to O'Nial, "and all the other imitators of the faith and valour of their forefathers;" in penning which Clement must surely have forgotten the time when his predecessor, Pope John XXII., had cursed with bell, book, and candle, their forefathers, Donald O'Nial and his clansmen, and their preachers, and Scottish allies, for daring to join with the accursed enemies of the king of England, and take up arms to display "their valour in defence of the inheritance of their fathers."† But the times had changed since then, and England would now no more support papal usurpations and papal oppression in Ireland. Let England only conciliate Rome by concessions to her false principles, and assistance to maintain her taxations and spiritual despotism in Ireland and elsewhere, and then Rome can afford to be a good enough friend to

* *Vid.* Phelan, 189; and Appendix, No. xxx. † p. 638 *sup.*

England, and care little what becomes of the popular Irish cause. *

A. D. 1601.

The long
expected aid
arrives from
Spain.
Sep. 1601.

The tide of rebellion had become low in the north, and the south had been reduced to a state of considerable tranquillity, and famine and the sword had much weakened throughout all the land the forces of O'Nial; when at length, late in September of the year 1601, a Spanish fleet bringing the long-expected succours arrived at Kinsale, and landed there 5,000 additional troops under Don Juan d'Aguila, who took possession of the town, and immediately sent word of their coming to their friends in Ulster. They soon had occasion however to find their lodgings in Kinsale rather uncomfortable, the natives being much less ready to join them than they had been led to expect, as the Irish were partly engaged in the queen's army, and partly influenced by disgust at the pride of the Spaniards to exhibit an aversion to their company. Very soon also the lord deputy Mountjoy and Sir George Carew, ^{Siege of Kinsale.} the president of Munster, were before the town with their forces, and placed it in a state of siege. On their summoning the place to surrender, they received for answer "that it was held for Christ and the king of Spain, and should be maintained against all their enemies."†

Arrival of
the northern
chieftains.

The northern chieftains, O'Nial and O'Donel,

* Vid. Appendix No. xxxi.

† Leland, ii. 395—398.

A.D. 1600.

upon hearing of the arrival of their friends from Spain, soon hastened to the south to join their forces with theirs. And now the English army lying between their enemies in the town on the one side, and the newly arrived northern troops on the other, was in its turn placed in a state of siege, and reduced to very great distress; the severity of the winter weather, famine, sickness, and desertion, all tending to thin their ranks, and reduce their power to oppose the enemy; while on the other hand, the arrival of O'Nial and O'Donel with their forces from the north, had encouraged many of the southern Irish to forsake their allegiance, and a fresh supply of Spanish troops had landed at Castlehaven to increase their numbers.

**Battle of
Kinsale.
Dec. 1601.**

Christmas day was now fast approaching, and the rebels' cause was strong, and their hopes were high, and the English forces were hemmed in on all sides, and reduced to the last extremity, so that they must ere long have surrendered; and O'Nial was willing to remain patiently for a little while in his camp, assured that time alone would soon destroy his enemy. But some misunderstanding existed between the Spanish and Irish commanders, and by some unaccountable, yet providential mistake, a general engagement opened on Christmas eve between the army of O'Nial and that of the English, the

Spaniards of the town appearing to take little part in the transaction. The result of this engagement was, that the rebel Irish forces were entirely routed and dispersed by an army vastly inferior in numbers to their own. Kinsale and the other towns held by them were soon surrendered to the English. Three thousand Spaniards were permitted to return home free, with their arms, ammunition, and provisions. O'Donel also retired unto Spain; O'Nial unto Ulster. But thither also was the latter chieftain soon pursued by the energetic viceroy, who at length obliged him, just at the period of Queen Elizabeth's death, to make his humble submission, and sue for pardon from her majesty; not however until his abominable and wicked ambition, co-operating with the traitorous and hypocritical influences of the court of Rome, had involved many thousands of his unfortunate countrymen in misery, and guilt, and the extreme of suffering.

A. D. 1601.

The Irish
insurgents
entirely
defeated.

Submission
of O'Nial.
A. D. 1603.

Thus terminated this destructive rebellion. From the brief account of it here given, the reader will be able to discern why it was that Romish priests were sometimes treated with severity in Elizabeth's reign. It was not for their religion they were punished, as Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, &c., had been in Mary's time, but because they were led by their irreli-

Romish
priests, &c.,
not perse-
cuted for
their reli-
gion by
Queen
Elizabeth.

A.D. 1602.

gious principles to engage in acts of treason, insurrection, and rebellion against their lawful sovereign and her government, thus choosing Barabbas for their model, under pretence of serving and following Christ. The fact here stated with regard to the treatment of Irish Romanists in Elizabeth's reign, is admitted even by prejudiced historians of their own party; an eminent one of whom asserts that in England indeed it was otherwise, but that "during her whole reign in Ireland we read of *no* imprisonment, banishment, or execution of any priest for the sake of his religion."^{*} This statement is a sufficient refutation of the many false and mischievous stories commonly circulated relative to the cruelty which this monarch is represented as having made use of towards the priests of Rome in our country. The instances above given of their treasonable attempts against her government, though but a few out of many, may help to dissipate some of the cloudy fictions which darken the pages of Romish historians with tragic relations of pretended martyrdoms of innocent and holy priests, suffering in this age for the Catholic faith. It would be easy to add more concerning the treasons and wickedness promoted in this country at the period of which we have been treating, by the court of Rome and

^{*} *Flower's History of Ireland*, book II. ch. iv.

her agents. But enough has been already said A.D. 1603.
on this painful subject, and were it not necessary to explain these things for the sake of meeting misrepresentations as to the past, and affording admonitions for the present and the future, it would be a more agreeable task to endeavour to forget for ever such crimes of professing Christians, and efface from memory the cruel injuries done to our Church in former times by the head and members of the Church of Rome. To dwell on such subjects beyond what is absolutely necessary for the exposing of error, or to irritate the popular mind by detailed accounts of the cruelties of bygone days, as it is no fit employment for a Christian or a churchman, so neither is it any part of the object of the present work. It shows little of the spirit of Him who taught us to forgive as we hope to be forgiven ; *to love our enemies, bless them that curse us, do good to them that hate us, and pray for them that despitefully use us and persecute us* ; and it savours as little of the principles of our holy apostolic Church, whose faithful members are ever ready to join, with heartfelt earnestness in the prayer which she puts into their mouths, that God would be pleased "to forgive our enemies, persecutors, and slanderers, and to turn their hearts."

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

P.S.—The concluding chapter of this work has been reserved for insertion in the Supplementary Volume containing the Appendix and Index, which is in course of preparation.

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